XENOPHON'S
HISTORY
OF THE
Affairs of Greece,
In Seven Books:

BEING

A Continuation of the *Peloponnesian* War; from the Time where *Thucydides* ends, to the Battel at *Mantinea*.

To which is prefixed an Abstract of *Thucydides*, and a brief Account of the Land and Naval Forces of the Ancient *Greeks*.

Translated from the Greek, By *JOHN NEWMAN*.

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To the Right Honourable George *Lord* Dartmouth, *Master General of His Majesties Ordnance and Armories, Master of the Horse to His Royal Highness, and one of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council.*

My Lord,

THE Dependance I have on your Lordship's Mannor of *Lewisham*, where this first Essay of my Labours had its

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Birth, made me preſume to offer It to your Lordſhips Patronage; which however I ſcarcely ſhould have ventured to do, being ſo little known to your Lordſhip, as I am, if your *Condeſcention*, and *Affability*, did not make as great a part of your *Character*, as any other of thoſe *Heroick Qualities*, of which it is *compoſed*.

Indeed there is ſo *near* a *Parallel* betwixt your Lordſhip, and my Author, that I need not go farther for an *Apology*: For both of you, with all the advantages of *Nature*, *Birth*, and *Education*, entred *early* upon

upon high Truſts, & happily *executed* them: Both great Lovers, and Aſſerters of *Monarchy*: For whilſt *Plato* drew the *Idæa* of his Common-wealth, *Xenophon* compos'd the Model of a perfect *Monarchy* in his admirable *Cyrus*, which was indeed a dangerous undertaking for an *Athenian*, but cannot come up to the reputation of your Lordſhips Heroick *Deportment* in the Houſe of *Commons*, when with *undaunted Reſolution*, a manly ſort of *Eloquence*, *unanſwerable Arguments*, in ſhort, with the ſame *Spirit*, with which *you* uſe to *Fight*, you *maintained* the cauſe of the *Crown*, and the *Succeſ-*

ſion; ſtem'd the *Torrent* of an *impetuous* faction, ſlenderly *ſeconded*, yet *unmoveable* from your Princes *Intereſts*, in a Conjuncture when *Loyalty* was more *Criminal* than *Treaſon*, and his *Sacred Majeſty* in no leſs danger at *Oxford*, than his *Father* of bleſſed Memory, when he was actually *beſieged there*.

Both of you great Promoters of *Learning*, and Favourers of *learned* men, and (which rarely happens) joyn'd with it an exquiſite skill in *Martial* Affairs.

Both of you concerned *in* and ſuccesfully

successfully perform'd that part which is *justly* reckoned the most *difficult Point* of War; for as *Xenophon* conducted the *Grecian* Army through the large *Tracts* of *Asia*, and made good their *Retreat*, so did your Lordship bring off the *English* from *Africk*, and as a good Angel *delivered them*, when they lay exposed as a cheap prey to the worst sort of Barbarians.

An Action which considered in all its Circumstances, the *difficulty* of the *Work*, the *violence* of the *Season*, a *vigilant*, *powerful*, and *implacable* Enemy, watching all his advantages

vantages to fall upon you, was not only of greater *Consequence* to the Nation, but an instance too of *Conduct*, not inferior to the other.

Indeed it is a *common* Observation, that *those very* Persons, who since endeavour to *lessen* that performance, when your Lordship with your accustomed Obedience undertook the *Expedition*, gave it out for *impossible*.

Not to mention that *by the way*, as it were, You almost ruined *Sally*,

Sally, that troubleſome Neſt of Pyrats, the greateſt Infeſters of the *Engliſh Navigation.*

Nor to ſay any thing of the great Number of poor Engliſh Slaves which you moſt charitably redeemed, who every day they riſe, are obliged to bleſs your Lordſhip for the Sight of their *Native Countrey*, and all the *Comforts* of their *Lives.*

This Hiſtory relates the *Downfal* of three *Famous Common-wealths*, and (one would think) were a ſufficient Argument to convince

even

even our Republicans, that that ſame *accurſed Fruit*, which could thrive no better in its *own Native Soyl*, would much leſs proſper *tranſplanted hither*, and *engrafted* on one of the moſt *Ancient* Monarchies in the World.

And as your Lordſhips *Courage*, and *Conduct* contributed very much to the *reducing* a *Neighbouring* Common-wealth to its juſt Bounds, (for the *Dutch* will never *forget* your *Lordſhip*, tho *Engliſh* men ſhould) ſo was there no one more inſtrumental in *cruſhing* a *riſing Common-wealth* here at home: Your Lord-

ſhip

ſhip ſtill *broke*, and *prevented* their *Deſigns*, put them clear out of the Road of 41, *puzzled* all their *Cabals*, by ſecuring the *Magazines* and *Stores*, which if you had not come in their way, they with great probability looked upon as their *Own*: So that thoſe who at firſt could not comprehend the Reaſon of your Proceedings, upon the diſcovery of the late *Horrid Conſpiracy*, cannot ſufficiently admire, and applaud your Lordſhips *Vigilance*, and *Conduct*.

Indeed as no *Subject* would have been worſe treated if their Treaſonable

ſonable Deſigns had took *effect*, ſo are all ſorts of People ſenſible of it to that *degree*, that ſcarcely any one is now reckoned *truly affectionate* to the Service of your *Two Royal Maſters*, who has not a *Particular* Eſteem, and Honour for your Lordſhip.

It is well for the Common Intereſt that you have not leaſure to make out the *Parallel*, by writing an *Hiſtory*, although your *own Exploits* would afford ſufficient Matter for one. Your Lordſhips hours are employed about more *neceſſary*, and no leſs *laſting Works* than my

my Authors. Not only the Present Age, but *late Posterity* too, will be indebted to your Lordships *indefatigable*, and *extensive* Care, for their *Peace*, and *Security*, both at *home*, and *abroad*.

There is one *happy disparity* betwixt *You*, and my Author, that, as he lived in the *Dregs* of a *Common-wealth*, so does your Lordship serve the *Wisest*, and *Bravest* Princes in the World; who are no less Renowned for their Firmness to their Friends, and Royal Bounty in *Rewarding* them; Then *Athens* will be *Infamous* to all Ages for her

her *Ingratitude* to thoſe who did her the greateſt Service.

That you may long live to do them *More*, and *Greater* Services, is now a *Publick* Wiſh; but in a more particular manner of

Your Lordſhips moſt humble

and obedient Servant,

John Newman.

THE PREFACE.

TRanſlation having been ſo much in Vogue of late, and ſeveral Authors turn'd into Engliſh; I made ſome Attempt herein, though with ſmall hopes of Succeſs: But at laſt having mentioned my Deſign to that Learned Gentleman, and my honoured Friend, Sir Edward Sherborne, he was pleaſed to encourage my Endeavours, both with the Communication of his own Sentiments, and the free uſe of his Curious and Choice Collection of Books; for which I thought my ſelf obliged to return him this Publick Acknowledgment; as alſo for the great Civilities, and continued Favours received from his hands.

But amongſt other Inducements I had to Tranſlate this Piece of Xenophon: One was, to ſhew by the Examples of the Famous Commonwealths mentioned in this Hiſtory; that there is not that liberty to be expected from theſe Forms of Government, which our Republicans propos'd to themſelves and Followers. For though the continual Cry of the Greeks was for Liberty; and againſt Oppreſſion; yet they

procured no further Remedy by their Alterations, than thoſe who ſhift their Burden from Shoulder to Shoulder, but leſſen not the Weight; and at moſt they did but change the Tyranny, but not enlarge their Liberty. The Lacedemonian *ſo much admired Conſtitution, had its Defects, and thoſe not ſmall ones; and though it flouriſhed longer than any of the reſt in* Greece, *yet it had doubtleſs been embroiled in Seditions and civil Wars, like other States, had there not been one thing peculiar to that Government: which was the exact Diſcipline and Obedience, wherein the Youth and Men were trained up; being eſteemed Sons of the Publick, and not of private Perſons: which the* Romans *partly imitated, by giving the Father power over his Son all his life-time, or till he was thrice ſold, and manumitted: and to this did* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis *aſcribe the Greatneß of the* Roman Empire.

But for the proof of my Aſſertion, I ſhall give a brief account of the Athenian, Lacedemonian, *and* Roman Commonwealths, *the laſt being framed after the* Lacedemonian *Model; and ſhew from theſe Inſtances, that the Changes of* Government, *and noiſe for* Liberty, *were the*

years, and at last for One.

Xenophon *the Author of this History was an* Athenian, *and being a Person of so great Learning and Ingenuity, he probably related nothing to the disadvantage of his Country: yet in his* Treatise *of the* Athenian Commonwealth, *he finds several faults with it. First, That the People had too great a Power, and carried all by Violence and Tumult; and that it fared better in that Government with Rogues, than Honest-men: Besides the several Changes it suffered during the Transactions of this History, sufficiently evince its weakness, and imprudent Constitution. Their Reformer* Solon *settled his Laws by making himself Popular, and by introducing a* Σεισάχθεια, *a kind of Jubile, being like the* Novæ tabulæ *at* Rome, *which was a forgiving all Debtors what they owed? Though he valued not the great Injustice and Oppression offer'd to the Creditors, by depriving them of their Estates at the same time, that he gave this Indulgence to the poorer sort. Their* Ostracisme *was a severe and unjust Law, by which they banished the bravest men, that had by their gallant Actions won the Love and Veneration of the People: And though this Popularity was not by their*

ſeeking, but a neceſſary Conſequence of their Noble Exploits; yet they muſt be packed out of the way for Ten years, and ruined: So great a Crime it was to deſerve well of their Country! This opened a Door to Revenge and other pretences; for when any Faction had a mind to rid themſelves of a Great Man, they had nothing to do but poſſeſs the people with a jealouſie of his Popularity, for which he was baniſhed, and their buſineſs done. Indeed ſome were Generous, and over-looked their Pieviſhneſs: but on the contrary, others, as Alcibiades *reſented it, who may truly be ſaid to be the firſt that contrived the ruine of his Country.*

In theſe Commonwealths for want of a Supream Head, the Ambitious thought they had as good a Title to the Government as others; and by this means they were divided into Factions; the ſtronger always taking it for granted that they were in the right, and thereupon baniſhed the weaker; who fled for protection to the Neigbouring Republicks, where they being ſet on by revenge, plotted and contrived to embroyl their Country in a War. The kind Reception the Fugitives found amongſt the Athenians *(who were in this the* Dutch *of* Greece*) made them not*

ſcruple

the Occaſion of all their Miſeries.

To begin with the Lacedemonian; *an indifferent* Obſervator *may at firſt ſight diſcover, from whence our* Republicans *have taken their Meaſures: and that the ſame Approaches have been made on our Monarchy as were on the* Lacedemonian; *and without doubt they had carried on their Deſigns as far, had they not been timely diſcovered, and happily prevented.*

The Lacedemonian *Kings were at firſt abſolute, and continued ſo till two Kings ſat on the Throne at once, their Power being no more diminiſhed hereby, than when there were Conſorts in the* Roman Empire, *or now that there are two* Czars *in* Moſcovy. *At length ſome of the Kings ſtraining their Power (there being no Government but what may be abuſed, whilſt Men are ſubject to Paſſions, and Things to Change.)* Lycurgus *one of the Royal blood contrived a new Model, joyning the Nobles with the Kings in the Government; and made ſeveral Laws in favour of the People, taking with him the Nobility to the* Oracle *at* Delphos, *to enquire what* Apollo *thought of them: who confirmed his Laws, and ſo the obſervance of them became a Point of Conſcience. Thus the Nobility firſt Invaded the Royal Prero-*

gative: about 130 *years after,* Theopompus *an easie King, thinking to entail the Kingdom more firmly on his Posterity, Instituted the* Ephori; *who being farther to temper, and allay the Power of the King, did so far encroach in time, that he became their Slave; and they made him little more than a private man; having power to Mulct, Imprison, Banish, and put him to death; nay, to alter the Succession, when they thought good. They had also the Priviledge to sit, when the King came into their presence, thinking it not proper to pay him Respect, whom they had under their Correction. The* Ephori *could make War and Peace; the* Ephori *could put any to Death, without form of Justice: they were Treasurers, they kept the King poor, and their Power became at last exorbitant and tyrannical.*

In the next place I come to speak of the Athenian *Commonwealth; the* Athenians *lived under a Monarchy, till that good King* Codrus, *who sacrificed himself for his Country; and thereby gained so great a Veneration from the people, that they thought none worthy to succeed him, but changed the Kingly Government into a Republick administred by perpetual Archons, who were afterwards created for Ten years,*

A brief Account of the Land and Naval Forces of the Ancient Greeks.

I Thought it might be neceſſary for the better underſtanding of this *Hiſtory*, to give ſome Account of the Land and Naval Forces of the *Greeks*; yet not to make a ſet Diſcourſe about it, but only to ſpeak of the *Militia*, as it was in the time of the *Peloponneſian* War: this Art continually altering and improving as well in former Times, as in this preſent Age.

It will be neceſſary alſo to Treat ſeparately of the *Lacedemonian* Diſcipline, becauſe it was diſtinct from that of the reſt of the *Greeks*; and then ſpeak of thoſe Particulars, wherein the *Athenians* and others varied from it.

The *Lacedemonians* were the moſt valiant People of all the *Greeks*; and tho' their Numbers were but ſmall, yet they were ſo well experienced, that they very rarely miſt of Succeſs, fighting with an aſſurance of Victory. Their Life was continually employ'd in Action, and ſuch Proviſion was made by the Laws of their

their Country, that not only the Men, but the Women alſo were uſed to Robuſt Exerciſes, and the Parents inured to hardſhip, that the Children might be rendred ſtrong, and able to undergo the Fatigue of War.

The Youth were divided into two Parties, and exerciſed Mock-battels, encountring whereſoever they met, yet were they under ſuch exact Diſcipline, that if any came by, and offered to part them, and they refuſed to obey, they were immediately carried before the *Pædonomus*, a Magiſtrate that took cognizance of thoſe Crimes, and ſeverely puniſh'd them, for being ſo far tranſported with Paſſion, as not to pay due Obedience to the Laws.

By this their Diſcipline they became hardy and reſolute, fighting with that obſtinacy, that they would rather die, than yield: But farther to habituate them to this Virtue of Martial Patience, they were once a year cruelly whipt at the Altar of *Diana Orthia*, which though it were rather a Puniſhment than an Exerciſe, yet they bore it with an Invincible Courage.

In this manner they were Train'd up till they came to thirty years of age; for before

ſcruple to commit any Crimes, ſeeing they could find ſuch eaſie ſhelter from Juſtice and the Law.

The Romans *after the expulſion of their Kings, framed their Commonwealth according to the* Lacedemonian *Model, creating two* Conſuls ; *and for the ſame reaſons that the* Lacedemonians *did two Kings. But the People conſidering that they had no power, and the Senate all, became ſeditious: Nor would they be ſatisfied till they in imitation of the* Spartan Ephori *had created* Tribunes; *whoſe perſons were ſo Sacred, that if any did but ſpeak derogatory from them, they had power to put him to Death without a Tryal. Nor were any the Authors of Sedition, Tumults, Murthers, and Civil Diſcord, more than the* Tribunes, *who were the Protectors of the People. 'Twas theſe that ruined the Commonwealth, which they pretended to defend. The Authority of the Emperors that were abſolute Lords of* Rome, *was made up of the* Tribunes *and* Conſul's *Power: One may therefore conclude from hence, that there is not that liberty to be found in theſe* Republicks, *which ſome have imagined, and that the Subjects in them were meer Slaves, the* Ephori *being* Tyrants *amongſt the* Lacede-

Lacedemonians, *the People amongſt the* Athenians, *and the* Tribunes *amongſt the* Romans. *For what greater Power can there be, than to inflict Puniſhment of Death without Form of Juſtice? Eſtate follows Life; and what can't they do in Religion, who are abſolute Maſters of the other two? Liberty is deſired by all; of which we by our wiſe Conſtitution have a greater ſhare than any Nation either has, or we could expect from a Change. And becauſe our own Examples affect us moſt, we may look back to the late Civil Wars, which were begun and fomented for the Cauſe of Religion and Liberty; yet both deſtroyed: the unhappy Nation ſuffering well nigh as many Alterations of Government, as it did Years of War and Confuſion: The Troubles alſo drew along with them,* Rebellion, Schiſm, Faction, Atheiſm, *and a Train of Vices; whoſe dire effects we ſtill ſee in the General Corruption of Manners and Tendency of the* Factious *to the* Old Game. *Nor could our Differences be compoſed, till the Rightful Heir was recalled, and the Ancient Government together with our Liberty reſtored: which we enjoy under our Gracious Prince, rather unthankfully repining, than juſtly prizing it.*

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before none were ſuffered to go into the *Campagn*, unleſs it were upon a very great neceſſity. Thus having ſpent ſo many years in the Speculation of War, they became ſo ſtrong and vigorous in the practice thereof, that they laſted forty years fit for Service, none having a Miſſion till he was ſeventy years of age.

Their Infantry conſiſted of Targetiers, Light-arm'd, and Heavy-arm'd men; the Light-arm'd men were placed in the Wings, being commanded out in the Forelone-hope, and uſed in Skirmiſhes, becauſe they were not loaden with Armour. Their Arms were Arrows, Darts, Staves, and Stones, which they threw, or ſlung; taking any extemporary Weapon that came in their way. The *Scholiaſt* of *Thucydides*, ſays, they did not cloſe, but fought at ſome diſtance, advancing, and retiring as they ſaw occaſion for either.

The Targetiers were a middle ſort, between the Light and Heavy-arm'd men, having a Target or leſſer Shield, and a Sword: They were nimble and expeditious, and very uſeful for purſuing; the *Lacedemonian* Regiment near *Corinth* being cut off by *Iphicrates*'s Targetiers.

The Heavy-arm'd men were raiſed out

of

of the beter ſort, the other two being for the moſt part Mercenaries and Half-ſlaves: Their Arms were a Shield of Braſs, a Pike and a Scymitar; their buſineſs was to repulſe the Enemy, and to maintain their ground, becauſe the Fortune of the Day depended on them; for if they were Defeated the Army was totally Routed: And in theſe indeed did the chief Strength of the *Lacedemonians* conſiſt. When they put the Enemy to flight, the Horſe light-arm'd men, and Targetiers purſued, though it was a Maxime amongſt them, *Not to be too eager, but to make their Enemies a Bridge of Gold, leſt Deſperation ſhould make them fight and vanquiſh their Purſuers.* Our Author alſo blames *Ageſilaus* for meeting the Enemy in their flight, whereas he ought to have rather given them way, and followed the Purſuit.

As for their Horſe, the *Lacedemonians* had a Body of three hundred that fought near the King, like the *Roman Celeres*: But they were very deficient in this part of their *Militia*, thoſe they had were arm'd with Spears, and Charged full Cariere; ſome of them carried Bows, and were called *Hippotoxotæ*. They were furniſhed with the main Body of their Horſe

Horſe from the *Thebans*; and being at War with them, they were deprived of thoſe *Auxiliaries*: So that *Epaminondas* the *Theban* General, knowing the *Lacedemonians* were weak in *Cavalry*, charged them at the Battels of *Leuctra* and *Mantinea*, with his own and the *Theſſalian* Troops, whereby he gave them thoſe two memorable Overthrows.

The *Lacedemonian* Forces conſiſted both of their own Subjects, called πολιτικὸν, and their Allies. Of the firſt there were four ſorts: The *Spartans* which were the Inhabitants of the City, and enjoyed more Priviledges than the reſt; the περίοικοι, or the *Lacedemonians* which dwelt in the Country; the Half-ſlaves who had merited Freedom by their Valour: The *Lacedemonians* thinking it of dangerous Conſequence to cut them abſolutely off of all hopes, leſt the deſperateneſs of their Fortune might provoke them to riſe up in Arms againſt the Government, and ſubvert it: the laſt were the Slaves, the *Candidates* for Liberty, whom they trained, becauſe the Wars made ſuch a conſumption of People, and raiſed Emulation in them, that they might advance themſelves thereby to their Freedom. The Confederates made up the Groſs of their

Army, for their own Numbers were but ſmall, which they concealed either out of a Maxime of their own, or that the Enemies by knowing how few they were, might not deſpiſe them: Yet this inconſiderable Number, were men of ſuch extraordinary Valour, that *Agis* being askt, How many ſtrong the *Lacedemonians* were? made anſwer, *Enough to fight any Army whatſoever.* However one may conclude from the Forces they had at *Leuctra*, that they were not very numerous; becauſe though but Four hundred *Spartans* out of Seven hundred, and a thouſand *Lacedemonians* were ſlain, yet this Loſs was ſo great, that they were forc'd to take in all under ſeventy years of age to recruit their Army; and their Men were ſo exhauſted, that they had ſcarce enough wherewith to ſupply the neceſſary Offices of Government.

The *Spartans* and *Lacedemonians* were called Μόραι, orRegiments, being oppoſed to the Σύμμαχοι, or Allies: In each Μόρα were Four Λόχοι in every Λόχος 8 Πεντηκοσύες, in every Πεντηκοσὺς Sixteen Ἐνωμοτίαι, which laſt contained two and thirty men, according to the *Scholiaſt* of *Thucydides*, ſo that a Μόρα conſiſted of Five hundred and twelve. *Xenophon* and the *Scholiaſt* of *Thucydides*

Thucydides differ in their Computations, for in theſe things no certain Number can be aſſign'd; and ſo the *Roman Legion*, as our Regiment was more or leſs, having no determinate Number. Each μόρα had its πολέμαρχος, or Colonel, under whom was the συμφορεὺς, or Lieutenant Colonel. The *Phalanx* at this time was not taken for any certain Number, but ſometimes for a *Battalion*, or ſometimes for the whole body of Foot. The eldeſt *Polemarch* was Lieutenant General of the Army, and after *Cleombrotus* was ſlain in the Battel of *Leuctra*, *Dino* the *Polemarch* commanded in Chief. Beſides theſe there were three hundred Horſe, and ſix hundred *Sciritæ*, which were a a choſen Band, that were placed in the left Wing.

The whole Army was Conducted by one of their Kings, who had an abſolute and uncontrollable Power, till *Agis* was ſo unfortunate as to make an haſty Treaty, and then they aſſign'd him a Council of War, without whoſe joynt Conſent he could not act: Or elſe by a General who had the Title of *Harmoſtes*, which was given alſo to the Governour of a Town. If the King was a *Minor*, then the προδίκος, or *Protector*, commanded for

him. Before an Expedition was undertaken, the King performed ſome preparatory Sacrifices, called διαβατήρια, and took the Field near Harveſt, that being the moſt likely-time to draw the Enemy out of their Fortreſſes to a Battel, becauſe they would come forth to defend their Corn: If they did not, the *Lacedemonians* did not ſit down before their Gariſons; it being forbidden them by their Laws to beſiege Towns, becauſe any kind of men by the benefit of a Wall might reſiſt the moſt couragious, and a valiant Man might be deſtroyed by an impotent Woman.

The *Lacedemonians* therefore being leſs expert in Sieges than any other of the *Greeks*, they would not ſuffer any of their Neighbours to Fortifie, but either pull'd down their Walls by force, or oblig'd them thereto by Treaty. Though they had a fair pretence that no ſtrong Holds ſhould be built, leſt the *Perſian* if he Invaded *Greece* any more, ſhould poſſeſs himſelf thereof, and gain firm footing in their Country. I don't find that the Ancient *Greeks* had any formal ways of beſieging Towns, further than the raiſing a Wall about the Place they beleagur'd, whereby they cut off Proviſions and Succors

cors from the Beſieged. Their Engines were but ordinary, and rather invented occaſionally than uſed commonly. By the account we have of the famous Siege of *Platææ*, we may Collect what their Methods were in others: It was at firſt Inveſted by the *Peloponeſians* and *Thebans*; but the former marched home, and left the Siege to the management of the *Thebans*, who built two Walls of Brick ſixteen Foot wide, like the Lines of Contravallation and Circumvallation, between which they poſted themſelves: After that they raiſed a *Cavallier*, or high Mount to over-look the Town. On the contrary, the Beſiged erected a wooden Wall upon the other of Stone, to intercept the Enemies Proſpect into the City, and ran up another of Brick for a Retrenchment, if the outermoſt ſhould be taken. Whilſt the *Thebaus* raiſed their *Cavallier*, the Beſieged carried a Mine to it, and took away the Earth as faſt as the Beſiegers brought it, and thereby hindred the advance of the Work.

They had alſo another Device in the Attacking of Towns, which was to carry a great deal of Combuſtible matter near the Walls, that they ſet on fire, and forcing the Enemy from their Poſts with

the Flames, they entred by the benefit thereof, and ſo carried it on to the Houſes: The Beſieged did not make frequent Sallies, for if they had, four hundred and eighty Men could not have defended *Platææ* the ſpace of two years. Towns were taken three ways, Αυτοδοκὶ by Aſſault, by Surrender, when the Garriſon and Inhabitants deliver'd up the Place before the Enemy ſat down before it: to this latter is oppoſed κατὰ κράτος, when the Enemy made Works, and took the Place by Siege.

When the Armies were in the Field, they threw up a Trench, and planted Pallizado's upon it, to ſecure themſelves from the Surprize of an Enemy. The Generals drew up their Battel in the form of a Wedge, and in an Oblong Figure, which ſometimes was with the longeſt ſide to the Front, and other-whiles the longeſt ſide in depth; they drew up ſometimes in one, and ſometimes in another, according as they thought it moſt for their advantage. When the *Battalions* were made deep, or form'd into a Wedge; the Deſign was to break through the Enemies Battel and to rout them: Though theſe Forms had their Inconveniences; the firſt eſpecially, becauſe they being many in File,

File, and few in Front, the Enemies that Out-winged them, might Flank them, and fall in at thoſe Intervals which were made by the eager and unequal preſſing forward of the foremoſt Ranks, and ruine their Body. Neither would it hold in parity of Reaſon, that becauſe a Wedge of Iron would rive a Block, that therefore one of men ſhould pierce a *Battalion*.

The *Thebans* at the Battel of *Leuctra* were few in Front, and fifty deep, ſuppoſing if they made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion on thoſe about the *Lacedemonian* King as to Rout them, that they ſhould Defeat the reſt with eaſe; and accordingly it hapned. The Heavy-arm'd men were Marſhalled ſo as to receive the Light-arm'd men and Targetiers within them; (the ancients Heavy-arm'd men being like our Pike-men) whereby they who had the riſing-ground, obtain'd a conſiderable advantage over thoſe that were drawn up in a Plain: Which *Thraſybulus* took notice of to his Souldiers, when he encouraged them to fight againſt the Thirty Tyrants; telling them that the Enemy ſtood on a Level, and none but thoſe who were in the Front could make uſe of their Darts and Lances; whilſt they ſtanding on an Hill,

could employ all hands, and bring every one to fight.

Before the Battel began, an *Hymn* was ſung to animate the Souldiers, and the like after by thoſe who had obtained the Victory. Moſt of the *Greeks* when they engaged ſet up a ſhout, and ran with a full Cry upon the Enemy, but the *Lacedemonians* differ'd from them in this, for they had Pipers diſpoſed up and down in convenient Stations, who were to play when the Army moved, that the Souldiers might pace according to the Modulation of the Pipes. And whereas the fury and noiſe affected by others was to beget Courage in them, and hurry them on againſt the Enemy; the *Lacedemonians* advanced, and ſtruck a terrour into their *Antagoniſts*, with their Reſolution and Gravity. The greateſt diſgrace amongſt them was to loſe their Shields, ſuch being branded with the Name of Ῥιψάσπιδες. Nor was it leſs reproachful to fly, as may be gathered from the *Epigram* about an Heroick Woman, who meeting her Son running out of the Field, killed him with this Elogy; that ſhe could forget the Affection of a Mother, whilſt he forgot the Duty of a *Lacedemonian*. Their Education and Diſci-

pline

pline made them ſo terrible, that none cared to engage with them, they being Men poſitively reſolv'd to Conquer, or to die. When a Victory was obtain'd, the Conquerors went to the place where the Battel began, ſang an *Hymn*, and erected a Trophy as a Monument of their Succeſs, and delivered the Slain upon Truce; for the *Greeks* were very careful to beſtow burial upon their Dead, not only out of Decency, but a ſuperſtitious Conceit, that the Souls of the Dead were not at reſt till the Bodies were interr'd.

In order to the making of Peace, there was ἐκεχειρία, a ceſſation of Arms, till ſuch time as they treated of a Truce or Peace, though generally a Truce or temporary Peace was made; as that of *Eubœa* for thirty years; a ſecond between the *Peloponneſians* and *Athenians* for fifty years; and another for an hundred: The Forms of their Peace were engraven on Pillars, as the *Roman* Treaties were in the *Capitol*; and if any Party violated them, the breach hereof was under-written.

The *Athenian Militia* differed from the *Spartan*: The *Athenians* being Lords of the Sea, and poſſeſt of many Iſlands, were able to bring a far more numerous Army into the Field than the *Lacedemonians*,

nians, or any one Eſtate of *Greece*. *Pericles* exciting his Country-men to purſue the War vigorouſly againſt the *Peloponneſians*, tells them that they had thirteen thouſand Heavy-arm'd men, beſides ſixteen thouſand more diſperſt up and down in the Gariſons and Frontiers; to which if we add the proportion of Light-arm'd men and Targetiers, they will make up a very powerful Army. The Forces of the *Athenians* were called ἐκ καταλόγου, as thoſe of the *Spartans* Πολιτικὸν, and oppoſed to the *Auxiliaries*: They were raiſed according to the Tribes which were ten in number; for amongſt the *Hebrews* and *Romans*, the Diviſion by Tribes was accommodated to the Military as well as Civil Government. The Ταξίαρχοι, frequently mentioned in this Hiſtory, were the Captains of the Heavy-arm'd men. They had alſo a ſtanding Body of Horſe, not exceeding a thouſand, to which were aſſigned forty Talents, or ſeven thouſand five hundred pound Sterling for their yearly maintenance. The *Cavalry* were commanded by two *Hipparchs* or *Colonels*, who had ten *Phylarchs* or *Captains* ſubordinate to them; becauſe theſe were raiſed by the Tribes as the Heavy-arm'd men.

As

Naval Forces of the Ancient Greeks.

As for the Naval Forces, the *Athenians* excell'd at Sea, as the *Lacedemonians* did at Land: for *Themiſtocles* having overthrown the *Perſian* Fleet in the great Sea-fight at *Salamis*, encouraged his Country-men to apply themſelves to Naval Affairs. They followed his Counſels, and in the ſpace of fifty years, partly by their own Induſtry, and partly by the natural advantage of their Situation, obtain'd the Sovereignty of the Sea.

During the time of this War, the *Greeks* made uſe of Gallies, which were Ships of conſiderable Force. The firſt Gally was built at *Corinth*, the *Greeks* having ſmall Veſſels before, called from the number of their Oars; as Τειακόντορ, from thirty, Πεντηκόντορ, from fifty Oars. The Gallies now uſed in the *Mediterranean* are vaſtly different from thoſe of the Ancients, and ſeveral Learned Men who have written on this Subject; as *Bayfius*, *Joſ. Scaliger*, in his *Animadverſions* on *Euſebius*; *Stewechius* in his Notes on *Vegetius*, *Scheffe-rus*, and *Palmerius* have varied very much in their Opinions.

Palmerius brings the Authority of an ancient Author, Printed with *Ælian*, to prove that Ships terminated in τορ, as τειακόντορ τεσσαρακόντορ, are denominated from

from the number of their Oars, and thoſe that end in ηρης, as τεσσηρης, a Gally, from the ſeveral Banks and Diſtinctions of Rowers, ſetting one above another in height. Yet we muſt not underſtand it ſo, as that the Rowers ſat in diſtinct Decks, becauſe *Ptolemy Philopator*'s Ship that had forty Banks of Oars, had but forty eight Cubits, or ſeventy two Feet in height from the water; ſo that if theſe had ſat in diſtinct Decks, the men muſt have been *Pygmies*, each Deck not having two feet in height. Neither were the Rowers placed above one another in a Perpendicular; for then as great difficulty will remain ſtill. If therefore we ſuppoſe the Banks to have been placed obliquely, and to have roſe gradually like Stairs, and allow each Bank one Foot, and ¼; *Ptolemie*'s Ship of forty Banks, and ſeventy two Feet, will require but fifty Feet, and there will remain twenty two for other uſes.

The Rowers in a Gally were diſtinguiſhed by three Names, the Lowermoſt were called *Thalamaces*, and had the ſhorteſt Oars, the middle-moſt *Zygitæ*, and the uppermoſt *Thranitæ*, who had larger Oars than the other two, and received more pay, as the *Scholiaſt* of *Thucydides*

cydides to the ſixth Book obſerves.

The *Lacedemonians* wholly neglected the Sea, being prohibited by their Laws to learn the Cuſtoms and Manners of other Nations; leſt Foreigners by their Commerce ſhould Import as well their Vices as Merchandizes. Nor did they ſet out a Fleet till they were made ſenſible of the advantage the Enemies had, and the Damage they themſelves ſuſtained for the want of one.

The Sea-ſervice amongſt the *Greeks* was eſteem'd of leſſer Dignity than the Land, and the Sea-men were lookt upon as a contemptible ſort of men: Nay, the *Athenians* themſelves gave the Command of Ships to land Captains, only taking care to procure them Maſters, which were expert Sea-men. The Ships were mann'd with ſeveral ſorts of men; as Rowers, Sea-men, who Navigated the Ships, and handed the Sails; *Epibatæ*, or Souldiers for Sea-ſervice, and Heavy-arm'd men, which laſt were employ'd at Sea, becauſe they ſeldom fighting at a diſtance, grapled, and made a ſtanding Fight of it, as at Land. I have not met any where with the number of Men, their Ships carried; though I ſuppoſe (if we except the Rowers) they had fewer in proportion

tion than thoſe in our time, becauſe their Men did not fight between the Decks.

The Sea-men's Pay varied according to the Times and Exigencies of State; *Thucydides* ſays, They had a *Drachma*, or Seven Pence Half-penny a Day; but we find in the Firſt Book of this Hiſtory, that *Lyſander* moved *Cyrus* to encreaſe the Seamens Pay, and raiſe it from Three *Oboli* to a *Drachma*, which contained ſix; ſhewing that the Seamen would come into the *Lacedemonian* Service, and deſert the *Athenian*; becauſe they always reſort thither where moſt Pay is to be had. At laſt, *Lyſander* prevailed with *Cyrus* to raiſe the Pay to Four *Oboli*, which was Five Pence *Engliſh*.

The *Athenians* had not always one Admiral, but ſometimes more; as when *Alcibiades* went out, they had Three, and when he was put out of Commiſſion, there were Ten choſen. On the contrary, the *Lacedemonians* had one Admiral, called *Navarchus*, who had under him a Vice-Admiral, called *Epiſtoleus*, that Commanded in abſence of the other.

When the Admirals deſign'd to Engage, they left their Main-Maſts and Sails aſhore, becauſe they were an hindrance to them in time of Fight, eſpecially when they

they rowed againſt the Wind. The manner of their Engaging was to bruſh off the Enemies Oars, whereby the Ship was diſabled, and to give each other the ſhock: whereupon the Prows of the Ships were fortified with ſtrong pieces of Timber and Braſs; they always ſtriving to ſtrike a Ship on her ſide, that being the weakeſt part of her, and he that was attacked, endeavoured to receive the ſtroak on his Prow, or decline it.

There were three Figures that the Fleets uſually drew up in, which they did upon ſeveral accounts, according as they ſaw it moſt advantagious. There was the Μηνοειδὲς, or Half-Moon; in this they placed the ſtrongeſt Ships in both the Horns: If the Ships were nimble, they drew up ὀπὶ χέρως in a Line, or Series, that they might ſurround the Enemy; ſometimes in a cloſe Body, and that was when they were bad Sailers: becauſe by this Figure they could ſuſtain the ſhock of the nimble Ships, that they might not break through them. Other-whiles they rang'd their Ships in a mixt Form; ſome in a Body, and ſome in a Line or ſingle Order, called ὀπὶ μίας.

After a Victory was obtain'd, they erected a Trophy in ſome convenient place

place on the Continent, and the ἀκροστόλια, or Stems, (though *Schefferus* will have them to be Jacks and Colours) were taken by the Victors, and born in Triumph.

☞ *Note that the* Stater *mentioned in the Fift Book, ought rather in proportion to be underſtood of the* Silver Coin, *which* Scaliger *values at Four* Drachma's, *or* 2 s. 6 d. *Sterling, than of the* Golden Coin, *which* W. Snellius *prizes at* 25 Drachma's, *or* 15 s. 7 d. ob.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE Peloponnesian War, OUT OF THUCYDIDES.

LIB. I.

THE Greeks *having vanquisht the formidable Armies of* Darius *and* Xerxes, *became the most renowned People in the World. And from that time the* Lacedemonians, *and* Athenians *encreasing their Power, and Forces, the rest of the lesser States sided with the one, or other of them, according as their Inclinations or Interests led them. But the* Lacedemonians *employing their*

Arms at Land, engaged those they subdued, only to conform their Government to the Spartan *Model, not exacting any Tribute from them. On the contrary, the* Athenians *by the Encouragement of* Themistocles *having set out a Fleet, reduced with it the Islands of the* Ægean *Sea, improv'd their Commerce, and obliged their Allys to pay certain Impositions, and Taxes; whereby they became exceeding Wealthy, and Powerful.*

The growth of the Athenians *imposed a necessity on the* Lacedemonians *of making War: The pretence of which was* Epidamnus *a Colony of the* Corcyreans: *Who growing first Rich, and then Factious, banished several of their Citizens. The* Exiles *joyning with the* Barbarians *brought the* Epidamnians *so low, that they were necessitated to send for Succour to* Corcyra *their Mother-City. But, the* Corcyreans *rejecting their request, they dispatcht Messengers to the Oracle to inquire, Whether they might not surrender to the* Corinthians *as their Founders: Because* Phalius *that setled the Colony was a* Corinthian.

The Oracle answered them, They might, accordingly they profered their Submission to them, and they readily accepted it, out

of

of hatred to the Corcyreans; *who were a* Corinthian *Colony, but had caſt off their Founders, and in the publick Solemnities did not according to the Cuſtom of Colonies make uſe of a* Corinthian *Arch-Prieſt, but becoming by their Wealth, and Naval Forces equal to the moſt powerful States of* Greece, *deſpiſed them.*

Thereupon the Corcyreans *going with a Fleet againſt* Epidamnus *blockt it up, and beat the* Corinthians, *that came to the relief of the place, and took it the ſame day.*

The Summer following, the Corinthians *reſolving to revenge their former diſgrace, made very great Preparations, obliging the* Corcyreans *to enter into a League defenſive with the* Athenians, *that the latter might not break theirs with the* Peloponneſians: *Yet the* Athenians *foreſaw, that they ſhould be engag'd in a War with the* Lacedemonians, *becauſe the former would not let ſuch an important place as* Corcyra, *that had ſo conſiderable a Naval Force, and lay ſo convenient for Tranſporting an Army into* Italy, *and* Sicily, *be an Acceſſion to the* Corinthians: *Therefore the* Corinthians *put to Sea with a Fleet of* 150 *Sail, and overthrew the* Corcyreans *in an Engagement, ſoon after breaking*

with the Athenians *for aſſiſting the* Corcyreans. *The* Athenians *ſuſpecting there would be a Rupture, that they might be before-hand with them, Commanded the* Potideans *their Tributaries, and a Colony of the* Corinthians, *to demoliſh their Walls towards* Pallene, *to give Hoſtages, to expel their Magiſtrates ſent by the* Corinthians, *and not to receive them for the Future. When the* Potideans *could get no abatement of theſe Terms propos'd by the* Athenians, *they went with the* Corinthian *Ambaſſadors to* Lacedemon, *and obtain'd an aſſurance, that in Caſe the* Athenians *made War upon the* Potideans, *the* Lacedemonians *would enter* Attica *with an Army. The* Potideans *having ſtrengthned themſelves with the Alliances of their Neighbours revolted; whereupon the* Athenians *went with an Army, and beſieged them.*

The noiſe of this Siege brought the Corinthian *Ambaſſadors, and ſeveral others to* Lacedemon *with Complaints againſt the* Athenians. *After a full hearing of the Caſe the* Lacedemonians *induced by the apprehenſions they had of the* Athenians *Power, who had already ſubdued a great part of* Greece, *declared, that the* Athenians *were the Aggreſſors. The* Lacedemonians *alſo to make the War appear more ſpecious*

ſpecious on their ſide, ſent Ambaſſadors to expoſtulate with the Athenians, *to require them to raiſe the Siege of* Potidea; *and permit* Ægina *to be governed by its own Laws: Eſpecially to revoke the Decree prohibiting the* Megareans *the Freedom of the* Athenian *Ports, and Markets.*

Whilſt theſe things were debating in the Council, Pericles *an eloquent Perſon, and the greateſt Man in* Athens *of his time, oppoſed their Demands: Shewing that theſe were no ſufficient grounds for a War, and that if they yeilded in this, the* Lacedemonians *would impoſe more upon them: That the Confederates had many different Intereſts, that their Counſels were divided, and came not to any ſudden reſolve. On the contrary, that the* Athenians *had a conſiderable Fleet, wherewith they could make frequent Deſcents, and give the Enemy a powerful Diverſion. And becauſe their Strength conſiſted chiefly in Iſlands, having only* Attica *that lay open to the Depredations of the Enemy, they could not ſuſtain ſo great loſſes by Land, as the Confederates. Therefore this Anſwer ſhould be return'd them, That they would permit the* Megareans *the Freedom of their Ports, and Markets: Provided the* Lacedemonians *would grant the* Athenians,

and their Allys (who were Aliens *in* Sparta*) the Priviledges of their own Subjects. That they would reſtore the Cities to their Liberty, if they did enjoy the ſaid Liberty, before the League was made. Provided alſo, that the* Lacedemonians *would do the like to the Cities under their Juriſdiction, and not oblige them to conform to the Model of their Government: And that they deſired to adjuſt theſe Differences by Treaty, as being unwilling to begin a War, but ready to defend themſelves againſt one.*

LIB. II.

The *Peloponneſian* War began the Lxxxvii *Olymp.* when *Pythodorus* was *Archon*, who continued only for two Months in his Office, and then about the 11 of *June Euthydemus* ſucceeded him.

The Peloponneſian *War began the fifteenth of the thirty years Truce made after the taking of* Eubœa, *occaſioned by the* Thebans, *who were let into* Platæa *by ſome Conſpirators: But the Townsmen being more inclined to the Intereſt of the* Athenians, *and coming to themſelves, ſet upon the* Thebans, *who being not able to defend what they had taken were overpowred, and put to the Sword. The* Athenians *placed a Garriſon in the Town, and thus the League being broken, both ſides made Alliances, and Preparations to carry on the War. Afterwards, when the* Peloponneſians

loponneſians *ſent an Army into* Attica *under the leading of* Archidamus, *with whom* Pericles *had contracted by hoſpitality a Friendſhip; leſt the other might ſpare his Lands, either out of reſpect, or to render him ſuſpected, he aſſembled the People, and acquainted them, that if the Enemy forbore his Eſtate, he would beſtow it on the Publick. He alſo commanded the People to abandon the Country, and retire into the Garriſons, and places of Security: There being no Preparation made againſt the* Lacedemonians; *it cauſed great diſcontent, for that they being uſed to the freſh Air, were now forced to crowd up in Towns; whilſt the* Lacedemonians *invaded* Attica, *the* Athenians *having a Fleet of an* 150 *Sail, and conſidering the Iſland* Ægina *lay convenient for them, drove out the Inhabitants thereof; and made ſeveral Deſcents on* Peloponneſus, *and other places. This Winter were ſolemnized the Funerals of the firſt ſlain in the War, and* Pericles *made the Oration in praiſe of them.*

This year a terrible Plague having travelled over moſt part of the World ariv'd at Athens, *which ſeized the* Athenians *both at home, and abroad, but did not enter* Peloponneſus: *Tho the apprehenſions* Second year and third of the *Olymp.* *Apollodorus Archon.*

thereof, made the Army return ſooner out of the Athenian *Territories, than otherwiſe they had intended. The People being conſumed with Sword, Depredations, and Peſtilence, clamored againſt* Pericles, *as being the only cauſe of their Calamities. Thereupon he aſſembling them together, heartned them up to proſecute the War vigorouſly, and not be diſcouraged; adviſing them to apply themſelves wholly to their Sea-Affairs, and not to deſpond.* Pericles *at length died two years and ſix Months after the firſt breaking out of the War. In the latter end of Summer* Ariſtæus *the* Corinthian, *and ſome* Lacedemonians, *intending a Voyage into* Perſia, *to procure Money from the King thereof towards carrying on of the War; went by the way to* Sitalces *King of* Thrace, *ſolliciting him to break with the* Athenians, *and march with his Army to the relief of* Potidea. *But the* Athenian *Ambaſſadors prevailing with the King to deliver them up, they ſent them from thence to* Athens, *and there threw them into deep Pits without any form of Juſtice: In return to the* Lacedemonians *that had given the like Treatment, to ſome* Athenian *Merchants taken off of* Peloponneſus. *This Winter* Potidea *was ſurrendred upon good Conditions,*

Conditions, after the Siege of it had ſtood the Athenians *in* 2000. *Talents.* 375000 l.

The Peloponneſians *inveſted* Platæa, *which made a brave defence: Whereupon the* Lacedemonians, *leaving the* Bœotians *to maintain the Works, and carry on the Siege, finiſhed their* Campagne. III. Year of the War *Epaminondas Archon.* *During this Siege the* Athenians *made War with the* Chalcideans, *and* Bottiæans: *But they being relieved from* Olynthus, *and other places, fought the* Athenians, *and over-came them, compelling them to retire with their broken Forces to* Potidea, *and from thence home to* Athens. *Before the Fleets were laid up,* Braſidas, *and the other* Peloponneſian *Admirals reſolved to make an Attempt upon the* Piræus, *which was not well Guarded, becauſe the* Athenians *were Lords of the Sea, and apprehended no Danger on that ſide. In order to their Deſign, they went over Land to* Megara, *and launch'd ſome Ships at* Niſæa *the Port Town thereof, yet ventured not on the* Piræus, *becauſe they thought that too deſperate a Deſign; but fell upon the three Guardſhips that lay at* Budorum *in* Salamis *over againſt* Megara, *and burning them, plundred* Salamis, *and put the People of* Athens *into a great Conſternation: Who diſcovered the Beacons on fire. In*

the

the beginning of this Winter Sitalces *King of* Thrace, *made War againſt* Perdiccas *King of* Macedon *with an Army of* 150000 *men, waſting his Country; and cauſed the People to fly into the Mountains, ſtriking a Terror into all the neighbouring Nations. Which occaſioned the Enemies of the* Athenians *to ſay, That they had called in ſuch a Confederate, as was likely to become their Maſter.* Phormio *the* Athenian *Admiral returned Victorious with his ſpoils to* Athens.

LIB. III.

IV. Year *Olymp.* Lxxxviii *Diotimus Archon.*

About Harveſt time the Peloponneſians *invaded* Attica, *and having deſtroyed the Corn, returned home again. Soon after this Incurſion* Lesbos *revolted, and the* Athenians *being informed, that the People would be aſſembled at a Feaſt kept by the* Lesbians, *in Honour of* Apollo Maſois, *where they eaſily might be ſurpriſed; fitted out* 40 *Sail of Ships. But the* Lesbians *having Intelligence thereof prepared to receive them; and ſent to* Lacedemon *for ſpeedy relief. The* Lacedemonians *directed them to* Olympia, *where the People of* Greece *were met to celebrate the Games, and there to deſire their Aſſiſtance againſt*

againſt the Athenians. *The Allies admitted the* Lesbians *into the League. This Summer the* Athenians *ſet out the greateſt Fleet they ever had at Sea, conſiſting of* 250 *Sail. The Souldiers and Seaman's pay was a Drachma a day, which great expence exhauſted the publick Treaſure. The* Platæans *having been beſieged all this while, and in extreme want, above* 200 *of them prepared Ladders, proportioning their length by the number, and breadth of the Bricks in the Enemies wall, and paſſing their Works by favour of a ſtormy Night eſcaped to* Athens. 7 d. ob.

Early in the Spring the Peloponneſians *fell into* Attica, *and deſtroyed every thing that had eſcaped them in former Incurſions. At the ſame time* Alcidas *went with a Fleet to relieve* Mitylene *in* Lesbos, *which was diſtreſſed for want of Proviſions; but did not arrive time enough. At laſt the* Lesbians *deſponding of Succours*: Salæthus *who had hitherto kept the People diſarmed, now gave them Arms with an intent to Sally out upon the Enemy, but the People turned Tail, threatning, that unleſs they who had Corn would bring it out, and divide it, they would make their Compoſition, and deliver up the place to the Enemy. The chief Men ſeeing they could* V. Year Euclides Archon.

not

not reſiſt the Will of the Rabble, and fearing that they themſelves ſhould be excluded: Did by an univerſal Conſent treat with Paches *the* Athenian *General, and ſurrendred upon Diſcretion. The Authors of the revolt expecting a rude Treatment from the* Athenians *fled to the Altars; from whence they were taken by force, and ſent to* Tenedos, *where they were kept till they could be conveyed to* Athens. *Afterwards when they were arrived there,* Salæthus *the* Lacedemonian *Governor, and the reſt were put to death. A Decree was alſo made, and ſent to* Mitylene *to do Juſtice on the reſt of the Conſpirators, and to make Slaves of the Women, and Children. Which Cruelty, after the Orders were gone, the* Athenians *repented of; and prevented the Execution of it by ſending thither a Countermand. Yet they put above* 1000 *to Death, that were the Heads of the Conſpiracy, and demoliſhed the Walls of* Mitylene. *About this time the* Platæans *wanting Proviſions, and worn out with a long Siege, were forced to ſurrender to the* Lacedemonians: *Who inſtigated by the* Thebans, *cruelly put them to Death, and razed the City. The* Peloponneſian *Fleet going to relieve* Lesbos *arrived too late, and in their return hearing*

hearing of a Sedition, betwixt the chief Men, and Commons at Corcyra *ſailed thither hoping to make themſelves Maſters of it. But tho they beat the* Corcyrean, *and* Athenian *Navy, yet they durſt not attempt the City, becauſe the People had the better, who committed horrible Outrages, and encouraged ſeveral other places in* Greece, *by their Example to be Seditious; whilſt the Peoples* Patriots *called in the* Athenians; *and the chief Men, the* Lacedemonians. *In the beginning of Winter the* Athenians *ſent a Fleet to* Sicily, *under* Charœades, *to aſſiſt the* Leontini *againſt the* Syracuſians, *and the* Doric *Towns in League with the* Lacedemonians. *At this time the Plague broke out again at* Athens, *and conſumed ſuch multitudes of People, and Soldiers, that nothing throughout the War was ſo grievous.*

Demoſthenes *invaded the* Ætolians *at firſt with good Succeſs, but afterwards was vanquiſht, and loſt the Flower of the* Athenian *Army. The* Athenians *expiated* Delos *by Command of the Oracle, and carried all the Tombs out of the Iſland, ordering that for the Future none ſhould dye, nor any Women be brought to Bed there, but be tranſported into the Iſle* Rhenea. Demoſthenes *joyning the* Açarnanians VII. *Euthydemus Archon.*

ans, *had better Succeſs againſt the* Ambraciots, *and overthrew them near* Olpæ. *This Victory brought him again into Favour, having loſt himſelf before. Upon which there followed a Peace betwixt the* Acarnanians, *and* Ambraciots.

LIB. IV.

VII: *Stratocles Archon.*

The Athenian *Fleet going to* Sicily, *were ordered in their way to obſerve how Affairs ſtood at* Corcyra, *and by the advice of* Demoſthenes *ſurpriſed* Pylus *in* Meſſene. *The* Lacedemonians *came to recover the place, and Landed in* Sphacteria, *an Iſland that lay before* Pylus: *Intending to block up the Channels, ſo that no Ships could enter to the relief of thoſe in* Pylus. *The* Athenians *at firſt repulſed them, and after the arrival of their Fleet from* Zacynthus, *beat them: Obliging the* Lacedemonians *to deliver ſixty Ships, till the return of their Ambaſſadors from* Athens, *who went thither to treat of a Peace, and then to be re-delivered. But* Cleon *a Popular man made ſuch exhorbitant Demands, that the* Lacedemonians *rejected them, and returned.. This* Cleon, *Fool-hardily engaged to take* Sphacteria, *and had the good Fortune*

tune to perform his raſh Enterpriſe. Tho this was accounted as ſtrange, and unexpected an Accident, as any hap'ned during the War; becauſe the Lacedemonians *were ſo well ſecured in this Iſland, that they thought none could Force them. From* Pylus *the* Athenian *Fleet went to* Corcyra, *and joyning with them in the City, compelled the Seditious, that had retired to the Hill* Iſto, *and from thence infeſted the Country, to ſurrender, and to remain Priſoners till ſuch time as Orders came from* Athens *about them. But in Caſe any one of them offered to make his eſcape, then all were to loſe the benefit of the Treaty. The other* Corcyreans *fearing the* Athenians *would not do Juſtice on them, ſecretly invited ſome to fly: And thus the Conditions being broken they were all delivered up to the* Corcyreans, *by whom ſome of them were cruelly put to Death, and the reſt had a very miſerable end.*

VIII. *Olymp. Lyſarchus Archon.*

Nicias *with his Fleet takes the Iſland* Cythera, *a place of great importance, and guarded by the* Lacedemonians. *The* Camarinæans, *and* Geloans *made Truce, and the other* Sicilian *States invited by this, ſend their Deputies to treat for a General Peace, which was promoted by* Hermocrates *the* Syracuſian. *Who ſhewed the* Athenians

thenians *lay only to watch an Opportunity to maſter them all, when they were ſufficiently weakened, and proved this to be their Deſign; for that they had baniſhed two Admirals, and fined a third, becauſe they did not oppoſe the Treaty of Peace.* The Magareans *deliberating about recalling their Exiles, ſome reſolved rather then they would admit that, to deliver up the City to the* Athenians, *who accordingly came, but were fruſtrated of their Deſign, yet they inveſted* Niſæa *the port Town to* Megara, *and took it.* Braſidas *haſt'ned to the relief of* Megara, *which kept it ſelf Neuter, till either the* Lacedemonians, *or* Athenians *got the better, but when the latter durſt not fight they ſurrendred to the* Lacedemonians *as Conquerors. After this* Braſidas *being invited into* Thrace *by* Perdiccas, *took his way through* Theſſaly, *and was in Danger to have diſputed his Paſſage for marching through the Territories of thoſe Princes without their leave firſt obtained. In* Thrace *ſeveral Towns came over to the* Lacedemonians *upon the Promiſe of Liberty, and being govern'd by their own Laws. The* Athenians *fortifying* Delium, *which was ſacred to* Apollo, *contrary to the Cuſtom of* Greece, *were beaten by the* Bœotians,

Bœotians, *who attempted the recovery of it, and ſat down before the place. At length* Delium *was taken by a new deviſed Engine, made of a vaſt great Yard of a Ship, bored through, and plated over with Iron at one end: To which was fixed a pot filled with Sulphur, and other Combuſtible matter. Then it being applyed to a part of the Wall where dry Vines were, the Beſiegers blew with an huge pair of Bellows through the bore of the Yard, and made ſuch a Fire that none was able to keep upon the Wall, or withſtand it, and there the Enemy entred the Town.* Braſidas *took ſeveral places in* Thrace, *and put new Life into the Affairs of the* Lacedemonians, *rendring the* Athenians *Contemptible thereby, as if they had not force enough wherewith to oppoſe them.*

Truce was made between the Lacedemonians, *and* Athenians *for a year, yet* Scione, *and* Mende *revolted to* Braſidas *after the making thereof. Which ſo Irritated the* Athenians, *that they neglecting the War in all other places, applyed themſelves wholly to reduce theſe two: They took* Mende *and Beſieg'd* Scione. Perdiccas *diſguſted at* Braſidas, *made a League with the* Athenians. IX. *Amyntas Archon.*

LIB. V.

X. *Alcæus Archon.* Cleon *Sailing with the* Athenian *Fleet to* Thrace *took* Torone; *and coming before* Amphipolis, *which* Braſidas *defended, he was not able to carry the place, but decamped. The* Lacedemonians *Sallied out, and falling upon them in their Retreat, routed them. In this Shirmiſh both Generals were ſlain;* Braſidas *was carried into the City, and Honorably buried; Anniverſary Games were alſo performed to him, as to an* Hero. *After the fall of* Cleon, *and* Braſidas, *that ſo ſtifly oppoſed the making of Peace, the* Lacedemonians *recoved again; and the extraordinary Succeſs of the* Athenians, *being ballanced by the two defeats at* Delium, *and* Amphipolis, *both Parties inclined to an Accommodation. And accordingly a Peace was concluded at the end of Winter, which diſſatisfied ſeveral of the* Lacedemonian *Allies.*

XI. *Ariſton Archon.* *Soon after the Peace, the* Lacedemonians, *and* Athenians *made a League offenſive, and defenſive for fifty years: But it was kept only for ſix years, and ten Months. Yet the War might truly be ſaid to continue for all this League, becauſe neither Party*

Party performed what they agreed to; the League being broke both in the Mantinean, *and* Epidaurian *Wars. About this time the Truce for thirty years between the* Lacedemonians, *and* Argives *expired. Thereupon the* Corinthians, *and diſcontented Confederates joyned with the* Argives, *apprehending the two powerful Republicks had combined to enſlave the reſt of* Greece. *The* Lacedemonians *longing to have* Pylus *reſtored, had it intimated by the* Athenians, *that provided the* Bœotians *would reſtore* Panactum *to them, the* Lacedemonians *ſhould be re-poſſeſſed of* Pylus. *Yet the* Bœotians *refuſed to part with* Panactum *unleſs the* Lacedemonians *would make a private League with them, which they did, tho they knew it was contrary to that they had made with the* Athenians; *wherein it was provided that no Treaty ſhould be made without the joynt Conſent of them both.*

The Bœotians *having demoliſhed* Panactum *the laſt Winter, the* Athenians *reſented it extremely ill, thinking they did it by the Inſtigation of the* Lacedemonians. *And therefore meeting with a favourable Conjuncture, they made an Alliance with the* Argives, *and other Confederates.* XII. *Olymp.* XC. *Ariſtophylus Archon.*

XIII. *Archias Archon.* *A War broke out betwixt the* Epidaurians, *and* Argives, *becauſe the former refuſed to ſend a Victim to* Apollo Pythius, *whoſe Temple belonged chiefly to the Care of the* Argives. *The* Argives *aſſiſted by the* Athenians, *made ſeveral Incurſions into* Epidaurus *under the Conduct of* Alcibiades.

XIV. *Antiphon Archon.* *The* Lacedemonians *being Confederated with the* Epidaurians, *went with a great Army againſt* Argos, *and empounded the* Argives: *when the Battles were ready to joyn, two of their Generals came to* Agis, *and parlied. At laſt a Truce was made for four Months, and* Agis *march'd off with his Army to the Grief of the Souldiers, that had a Proſpect of ſo fair an Advantage, and ſo great a Spoil. Afterwards the* Athenians *came with conſiderable Recruits, and perſwaded the* Argives *to break the Truce, telling them 'twas not good, becauſe it was made without the Privity of the other Confederates. Upon that they beſieged* Orchomenus *in* Arcadia, *and took it. From thence they went to* Tegea, *which was relieved by the* Lacedemonians, *a Battle was fought, the* Argives *beaten, and a Peace concluded betwixt theſe two Republicks.*

XV. *Euphemus Archon.* *The* Argives *breaking with the* Lacedemonians

demonians *made a League with the* Athenians, *and for fear of the former built Long Walls from their City to the Sea, that they might receive the Aſſiſtance of the* Athenians *on that ſide. But whilſt they were building, the* Lacedemonians *came with an Army, and razed them.*

The Athenians *reſolving the* Melians *ſhould acknowledge their Sovereignty as the reſt of the Iſlanders did: Went with a Fleet againſt* Melos. *At the coming of a ſecond Army they took the place, put all the men to the Sword, and carried the Women, and Children Captives.* XVII. *Olymp.* XCI. *Ariſtomnetus Archon.*

LIB. VI.

The Athenians *ſent a Fleet to* Sicily *invited thither by the* Egeſtæans, *that made War upon the* Selinuntians; *which latter were aided by the* Syracuſians, *engaging in this Enterpriſe with ſo much Precipitation, and haſt, that they ne'r examined how great an Iſland it was, not imagining that it required as great Forces to ſubdue it, as* Peloponneſus.

This year the Athenians *Equipped a Fleet of ſixty Sail for* Sicily *under the Admirals* Alcibiades, Nicias, *and* Lamachus, *whilſt theſe Preparations were making,* XVII. *Chabrias Archon.*

king, the Images of Mercury *were defaced; and a Reward propoſed to any that would diſcover the Authors. At length ſome informed, that* Alcibiades *had ſpoiled ſeveral Statues. Thereupon his Enemies concluded, he muſt needs have done the other, inferring it from his free and looſe way of Living.* Alcibiades *profered to take his Tryal upon it, but it was thought fit to let him go the* Sicilian *Voyage, and if there appeared any Matters againſt him, to call him to an account afterwards. The whole Fleet met at* Corcyra, *and thence parted for* Sicily, *where ſome time after their arrival, they ſurpriſed* Catana. *The* Athenians *called* Alcibiades *home to Anſwer his Charge, for Prophaning the Myſteries, and defacing the Images; whereupon he took Shipping, pretending to Sail for* Athens, *but going aſhore at* Thurij, *he gave them the ſlip, and went to* Peloponneſus. *The* Athenians, *and* Syracuſians *engaged, but the latter are overcome, and the* Athenians *wintered at* Naxus. Alcibiades *coming to* Lacedemon *in Company of the* Sicilian *Ambaſſadors, animated the* Lacedemonians *againſt the* Athenians: *Who thereupon reſolve to aſſiſt the* Syracuſians, *and ſend them Supplies under the Command of* Gylippus.

The

The Athenians *beſiege* Syracuſe, Lamachus *is ſlain, and the ſole Command of the Army devolved to* Nicias. Gylippus *haſtens to the relief of* Syracuſe, *but by reaſon of the ſmall Force he had, is contemned by* Nicias, *who took no Care to ſecure himſelf againſt the Attempts of an Enemy. The* Athenians *by aiding the* Argives *openly break their League with the* Lacedemonians, XVIII. *Piſander Archon.*

LIB. VII.

Gylippus *arrives at* Himera *firſt, and there having made Alliances with ſeveral Communities of the* Sicilians, *went from thence to* Syracuſe, *and coming thither before the* Athenians *had finiſhed their double Wall about the Town, Lands, and Encamps with his Army. The* Syracuſians *cut off part of the* Athenian's *Works with a Counter-Wall.*

By the advice of Alcibiades, *the* Lacedemonians *entred* Attica *this* Campagne, *and fortified* Decelea: *Which was a place of great importance, being diſtant from* Athens *about* 120 *Furlongs and not much more from* Bœotia: *It could be ſeen to* Athens, *and lay very conveniently for making Incurſions. The* Syracuſians, *and* XIX. *Cleocritus Archon.*

Athenians *had an Engagement within their great Haven, wherein the former were beaten, but in a ſecond Engagement the* Athenians *were overcome. After the* Plemmyrium *was taken, which Commanded the Port, no Proviſions could be carried in thither without fighting.* Demoſthenes, *and* Eurymedon *being ſent with a new Army; reſolved forthwith upon their arrival to attack* Syracuſe, *which* Nicias *neglecting to attempt at his firſt coming, wintered at* Naxus, *and ſo came afterwards to be deſpiſed. The* Athenians *by Night Attack'd a part of the City called* Epipolæ: *And after a confuſed, and dubious Shirmiſh, were repulſed by the* Syracuſians. *In this Fight many of the ſame ſide through miſtake, becauſe it was in the Night, became ſo earneſtly engaged, that they could hardly be parted. After the Fight* Demoſthenes *adviſed to march away. But* Nicias *fearing the* Athenians *at home would not riſe up from before the place without their Order: Suppoſing his own Army was in a better Condition, than the* Syracuſian, *this being now exhauſted by the War, and depending chiefly on Mercenaries, who would deſert when pay failed. At laſt he decamped when the Moon was Eclipſed, and by the Prieſt's directions ſuperſtitiouſly ſtaid twenty ſeven days.* In

In the mean time Gylippus *coming with Recruits from moſt Parts of* Sicily *ſtrangely raiſed the Expectations of the* Syracuſians: *who thereupon engaging the* Athenians *in the great Haven, beat them, and blockt up the mouth of the Port, which was eight forlongs over, with their Ships aſtern one another. The* Athenians *tried their Fortune again, to ſee if they could break through the* Syracuſian *Fleet, but were beaten a ſecond time, after a very terrible, and deſperate Fight; which dejected the Seamen ſo much, that they could not be perſwaded to go on board again, though the* Athenians *had more Ships fit for Service than the Enemy, but reſolved to march away by Land.*

Hermocrates *ſuſpecting the Enemie's Deſign, propoſed the ſending of Forces to take all the difficult Paſſes, and cut off their Retreat. But the Soldiers for joy of the Victory, and becauſe* Hercules *his Feaſt was kept at that time, were ſo taken up with drinking, and other Diverſions, that they could by no means be prevailed with to perſue the Victory. Thereupon* Hermocrates *ſent ſome to the* Athenian *Camp, who pretended to be their Friends, and that they came out of kindneſs to inform them; that the* Syracuſians *had*

had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Paſſes, and intended to cut off their retreat. The Athenians *giving credit to them, did not Decamp till three days after: When* Gylippus *had really done ſo; In the Retreat* Demoſthenes *with his part of the Army ſurrendred upon conditions; but* Nicias *yielded himſelf a Priſoner to* Gylippus: *who had a deſire to have ſaved him, yet being overcome by the importunity of the Army was forced to kill him.*

The Athenians *were put into the Quarries being miſerably treated, and thoſe that ſurvived their hard uſage were ſold for Slaves. Thus ended the* Sicilian *War.*

LIB. VIII.

The Athenians *were unwilling at firſt to give credit to this great Defeat, but at laſt being convinced of the truth, became enraged at their Prophets and Prieſts; who by a Religious Pretext had betrayed them into a vain hope of conquering* Sicily. *Hereupon the* Lacedemonians, *and the Confederates exerted their utmoſt power in carrying on the War. And on the contrary the* Athenians *would not ſubmit to their misfortune, but reſolved to ſupport their Allies, and equip a Fleet. Yet many of the* Athenians *Confederates revolted from them;*

them; and the other Greeks, that had hitherto ſtood Neuter, now longed to come into the War, thinking to make a ſhort cut of it.

A League was concluded between the King of Perſia, and the Lacedemonians. The Athenians chaſed twenty Peloponneſian Ships into the Pireus, and blockt them up; but the latter forcing their paſſage took four of the Athenians. The Athenians made a Deſcent near Panormus in the Countrey of the Mileſians; where they had a Fight in which Chalcideus was ſlain. This Action rendred Alcibiades ſuſpected to the Lacedemonians: ſo that they ſent Aſtyochus private Orders to diſpatch him. But he made his eſcape to Tiſſaphernes, and there did the Peloponneſians all the ill Offices he poſſibly could, perſwading him to retrench the Sea-men's pay; and put off thoſe that came to demand Money with this Anſwer, That they had no reaſon to expect any from Tiſſaphernes, becauſe what he did was for their preſervation, and that they might as well maintain themſelves now as they had done before, whilſt they ſided with the Athenians. XX. year of the War: Olymp. Xcii. Callias Archon.

He adviſed him alſo to ſpin out the War, and let neither ſide grow too powerful, leſt one got the Command of all; whereby the King his Maſter would want ſome body

body to keep the Conquerors under. This Alcibiades *did to procure himſelf to be recalled from Baniſhment, knowing the favour and reſpect he had from* Tiſſaphernes *would much promote it. When ſome came from* Samos *to have a Conference with him; he told them if he was recalled, he would procure them an Alliance with the King of* Perſia. *Provided alſo they would reform the Government, and put it into the hands of the Nobles, and ſuch as the King could truſt, becauſe the* Democracy *was adminiſtred by ill men.*

Phrynichus *oppoſed the recalling* Alcibiades, *fearing, if he returned, that he would be his Enemy, and ſent to* Aſtyochus *the* Lacedemonian *General, that* Alcibiades *was treating with* Tiſſaphernes *to bring him over to the* Athenian *Intereſt. Theſe Letters were conveyed to* Alcibiades, *which being returned to* Samos, *brought* Phrynichus *into extreme danger. But he to prevent it, diſpatched other Letters to* Aſtyochus, *informing him, that he himſelf would betray the whole Army to him, diſcovering how it might be ſurprized, and that* Samos *was not walled.* Aſtyochus *ſent* Alcibiades *theſe Letters likewiſe, which* Phrynichus *underſtanding reſolv'd to prevent this danger too, and acquainted*

quainted the Army, that he was aſſured the Lacedemonians *would attack them, and therefore he would have them fortifie* Samos *with all Expedition.*

Theſe Letters came afterwards to the Camp, but Phrynichus *ſo wrought with the Army, that no credit was given to* Alcibiades, *ſuppoſing he had only gueſſed at things by foreſight. At length there came Deputies from the* Samians, *and informed the* Athenians, *how great an Aſcendant* Alcibiades *had over* Tiſſaphernes, *and that if he was recalled, he was capable of doing them Service, whereupon* Piſander *prevailed that himſelf and ten more ſhould be ſent to treat with* Tiſſaphernes, *and* Alcibiades. Xxi. Year of the War.

Piſander *returned to* Athens, *where he and* Theramenes *the Son of* Agnon, *changed the Democracy into a Government of* 400 *men.* Thraſybulus *propoſing to the Army at* Samos, *that* Alcibiades *ſhould be recalled, they both reſtored, and gave him his pardon. Whereupon he went and conducted him to* Samos, *and ſoon after his arrival he was choſen General. He being advanced to this new Preferment, went to ſhow himſelf to* Tiſſaphernes, *and to let him know that he was now in a condition either to ſerve, or incommodate him. After* Alcibiades *returned home, the* Peloponneſians Theopompus. Arthon.

neſians *began to ſuſpect* Tiſſaphernes, *and talk hard of him.*

About that time a Mutiny hapned in the Lacedemonian *Army, proceeding to ſuch a degree, that the Soldiers had like to have killed* Aſtyochus *their General. Soon after* Mindarus *ſucceeded* Aſtyochus *in his Command.* Hegeſandridas *came about that time from* Megara *with the* Peloponneſian *Fleet, intending to make ſome attempt upon the* Athenians, *whilſt they were in Tumult and Confuſion. The* Athenians *fearing he would fall upon* Eubœa, *on which they chiefly depended, ſent out* Thymochares *with a Fleet, who was betrayed by the* Eretrians, *and beaten, upon which the loſs of* Eubœa *followed. When they heard this, they ſet out another Fleet, and depoſing the* 400 *choſe* 5000 *into the Government. After this change the* Athenians *came to themſelves, and put things into order.* Piſander *and all the* 400 *retired to* Decelea, *except* Ariſtarchus *who went to* Oenoe, *and betrayed it to the* Bœotians. *Towards the end of Summer* Thraſylus, *and* Thraſybulus *the* Athenian *Admirals engaged with* Mindarus, *and overcame him, which was welcome News to them at* Athens, *who before dreaded the* Peloponneſians, *and never expected ſuch good Succeſs again.*

Xenophon's

XENOPHON's History OF THE Affairs of Greece.

LIB. I.

THE CONTENTS.

A Fight between the Lacedemonians *and* Athenians, *in which* Mindarus *the* Lacedemonian *Admiral is ſlain.* Hermocrates *and the* Syracuſian *Admirals are baniſhed by the People.* Alcibiades *returns from Exile, and is made* Generaliſſimo: *He leaves his Fleet under the Command of* Antiochus *his Captain; who in his Abſence engages with* Lyſander, *and is beaten; which ruined* Alcibiades.

biades. *The great Sea-fight near* Arginuſæ, *wherein the* Lacedemonians *were vanquiſhed, and* Callicratidas *their Admiral ſlain. The* Athenian *Admirals are tried for not taking up their men in the Fight, unjuſtly condemned, and put to death.*

NOT many Days after this *Thymochares* coming with a ſmall Fleet from *Athens*, forthwith the *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians* had another Engagement; wherein the former commanded by *Hegeſandridas* obtained the Victory. A little while after in the beginning of Winter, *Dorieus* the Son of *Diagoras* came up the *Helleſpont* by break of day, with fourteen Sail from *Rhodes:* which when the *Athenian* Day-ſcout diſcovered, he made his Sign to the Admirals, and they bore up to him with twenty Sail; upon that *Dorieus* fled, and having * doubled *Cape Rhœteum* haled up his Gallies aſhore: When the *Athenians* came up cloſe to him, he fought them both from on board his Ships, and from the Shore, till they not having effected any thing, ſtood off to the reſt of their Fleet at *Madytus*.

* Ἧροιξε, to come out of a Haven or ſtreight into Sea-room: *Virgil* uſes *aperitur* for a Sea-term, *Æn.* III. *v.* 275.

Mindarus

Mindarus ſeeing the Fight, as he was ſacrificing at *Ilium* to *Minerva*, ran with great diligence to the Sea-ſhore, and launching his Gallies ſet ſail to joyn *Dorieus*. The *Athenians* bore up with him near *Abydus*, and engaged him by the Shore from Morning till Night. Whilſt the Fight continued dubious, *Alcibiades* came in with eighteen Sail, upon which the *Peloponneſians* fled to *Abydus*, whither *Pharnabazus* came to their Aſſiſtance, and entring the Sea on Horſeback, as far as he was able, fought, and encouraged his Horſe and Foot to do the like. The *Peloponneſians* joyned their Ships together, and drawing up in a Body fought from off the Shore. At laſt the *Athenians* departed with thirty empty Ships they had taken from the Enemy, and thoſe of their own they had formerly loſt, and carried them to *Seſtos*. From thence all but forty ſailed for ſeveral Parts without the *Helleſpont* to collect Tribute; and *Thraſylus* one of the *Athenians* went to *Athens* to carry the News, and to demand Supplies of Men and Ships.

After this *Tiſſaphernes* arrived at the *Helleſpont*, whither *Alcibiades* came with one Gally, to bring him Gifts and Preſents; but *Tiſſaphernes* ſeized him,

and clapt him up at *Sardes*, telling him, that he had Orders from the King to make War upon the *Athenians*. Thirty days after, he, and *Mantitheus*, that had been taken Priſoner in *Caria*, having procured themſelves good Horſes made their eſcape by Night to *Clazomenæ*. In the mean while the *Athenians* having intelligence at *Seſtos*, that *Mindarus* was coming to fall upon them with ſixty Sail, fled to *Cardia*. At the ſame time alſo *Alcibiades* went thither with five Gallies, and a *Brigandine* from *Clazomenæ*; and hearing that the *Peloponneſian* Fleet was ſailed from *Abydus* to *Cyzicus*, he ordered his Ships to ſail about to *Seſtos*, and went thither himſelf by Land. After the Fleet arrived, when he was juſt going out to engage, *Theramenes* came in with twenty Sail from *Macedone*, and at the ſame time *Thraſybulus* with twenty more from *Thaſus* both having been collecting tribute. *Alcibiades* commanded them to take off their Main-ſails and follow him, going himſelf to *Parium*, where the whole Fleet being joyned conſiſted of eighty ſix Ships, and ſetting ſail the

The *Greeks* called the *Perſian* Monarch Βασιλεὺς by way of Excellence.

The Ancients being they uſed to Stem one anothers Ships had no occaſion for their Main-ſails in time of Fight; But made uſe of their Oars only: So that they left theſe Sails aſhore when they went to engage, keeping only the leſſer Sails for any extraordinary occaſion, *Scheffer. de Mil. Nav. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 5.

Night

Night following, he arrived the day after about Noon at *Præconneſus*.

There they heard that *Mindarus*, and *Pharnabazus* with his Land-forces were at *Cyzicus*; whereupon they ſtaid a day in that place: The day following *Alcibiades* called a Council of War, and encouraged his men, telling them, that an abſolute neceſſity obliged them to fight the Enemies Fleet by Sea, their Army by Land, and to attack their fortified Places: For (ſays he) we have no mony, with which the Enemy is plentifully ſupplied from the King of *Perſia*. The day before, when the Ships were brought into Harbour, and he had gotten all the ſmall Veſſels about him, he made Proclamation, leſt the Enemy ſhould be informed what number of Ships he had, that whoever was taken croſſing to the other ſide, ſhould be put to death. After the Council of War, he prepared for an Engagement, and ſet ſail to *Cyzicus* in foul weather. As he approacht near the place, it cleared up, and the Sun breaking out, he diſcovered ſixty of *Mindarus* his Ships exerciſing at a great diſtance from the Port, to which he had now cut off their Retreat. The *Peloponneſians* ſeeing the *Athenian* Gallies were far more nume-

rous than before, and near the Port, made to Land, and having run their Ships in, fought the Enemy as they came to attack them. In the mean while *Alcibiades* ſailing about with twenty Ships, landed; which *Mindarus* ſeeing, landed too, and fought till he was ſlain. Upon this his men fled, and the *Athenians* carried off all the Enemy's Ships to *Præconneſus*, except thoſe of *Syracuſe*, which the *Syracuſians* themſelves had burnt.

The day after the *Athenians* ſailed from thence to *Cyzicus*: which being deſerted by the *Peloponneſians*, and *Pharnabazus*, the People of *Cyzicus* received the *Athenians* into their City. Here *Alcibiades* ſtaid twenty days, and having procured a good Sum from the *Cyzicenians*, without farther harm done to the City, ſailed to *Præconneſus*, thence to *Perinthus*, and *Selymbria*. The *Perinthians* received his Army into the City, but the *Selymbrians* gave money, and kept them out. From thence he went to *Chryſopolis* in the Neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, and fortified it, erecting a Toll-houſe there to take Tenths of the Ships, that came from *Pontus*. Here he left a Guard of thirty Ships, under two Admirals *Theramenes*, and *Eubulus*: who were to ſecure the Town, and

Ships

Ships that came from *Pontus*; and to do the Enemy what miſchief they could. The other Admirals went for the *Helleſpont*.

Hippocrates Mindarus his Vice-Admiral ſent Letters to *Lacedemon* which were intercepted, and carried to *Athens*: The Contents were, *All is Gone*; Mindarus *is loſt*; *Our Men want Proviſions*; *What to do we cannot tell*. *Pharnabazus* cheared up the Army of the *Lacedemonians*, and *Syracuſians*, giving every one a Coat and two Months pay; and telling them, that ſince the men were ſafe, they ſhould not be diſheartned for the loſs of a little Wood, which the King *His Maſter's* Country had good ſtore of. Beſides he armed the Sea-men, and ſet them to guard the Coaſt of his Province; then calling the Governours of the Cities, and Sea-Captains together, he gave them money, and ordered them to build as many Gallies at *Antandrus*, as they had loſt, and bid them fetch Timber from Mount *Ida*. Whilſt the Ships were building, the *Syracuſians* helpt the *Antandrians* to finiſh part of their Wall, behaving themſelves better therein, than any of the Gariſon; for which reaſon the *Syracuſians* have Priviledges, and Fredom at *Antandrus*.

Pharnabasus having setled his Affairs in this manner, went immediately with Succours to *Chalcedon*.

XXII. Year of the War Olymp. pas. Archon.

About this time News came to the *Syracusian* Admirals, that they were baniſht by the Populacy. Upon which they called their Soldiers together, and *Hermocrates* made a Speech in the Name of the reſt deploring their hard Fortune, and proteſting they were baniſht contrary to all Law, and Juſtice. Adviſing them, that as they had heretofore, ſo they would for the future, upon all occaſions, obey their Commanders, and that they would chuſe new Officers till the arrival of thoſe, that were nominated in their ſtead. The Souldiers eſpecially the Captains of Gallies, Maſters, and Sea-men cried out that they ſhould continue in their Commands. On the other hand the Admirals told them they ought not to mutiny againſt the Government: But if any impeacht *the ſaid Admirals*, then ye may (ſaid they) recount and reckon up the Sea-fights ye have won, the Ships ye have taken your ſelves, and how often with others under our Conduct, ye have been victorious; we having had for our own Conduct and your Courage the moſt honourable place in Battel both at Sea and Land.

Land. No body laid any thing to their charge, and they at the entreaty of the Soldiers continued in their Command till the arrival of thoſe that were choſen in their ſtead; who were *Demarchus* the Son of *Pidocus*, *Myſco* the Son of *Menecrates*, and *Potamis* the Son of *Gnoſias*. When moſt of the Captains of the Gallies had ſworn to repeal their Baniſhment, as ſoon as they themſelves returned to *Syracuſe*, they commended, and diſmiſſed them; giving them leave to go whither they would: Yet they had a private Conference with *Hermocrates*, whom they highly admired for his Diligence, Courage, and Affability. For every Morning and Evening, he aſſembled in his Cabin ſuch as he knew to be the ableſt men amongſt the Captains of Gallies, Maſters, and Seamen; and there communicated to them, whatſoever he intended to ſay or do; Inſtructing, and bidding them give preſent advice upon ſome matters, and deliberate upon others. By this *Hermocrates* got great credit at the Council of War, having the reputation of the beſt Orator, and ableſt Councellor. The ſame *Hermocrates*, when he accuſed *Tiſſaphernes* at *Lacedemon*, was believed upon his own credit, though *Aſtyochus* came in as a

joynt witneſs, and got money of *Pharnabazus*, when he went to him, before he askt it; with which he provided Men, and Ships for his return to *Syracuſe*.

In the mean while the Succeſſors of the *Syracuſian* Admirals arrived at *Miletus*, and took the Command both of the Fleet, and Army. Near the ſame time a Sedition hapning at *Thaſus*, the *Lacedemonian* Party with their Governour *Eteonicus* a *Lacedemonian* was driven out; and *Paſippidas* a *Lacedemonian* being accuſed for compaſſing it by *Tiſſaphernes* his help, was baniſht *Sparta*. *Crateſippidas* was ſent to the Fleet, which *Paſſipidas* had got together from the Allies, and took the Command of it at *Chius*. It hapned, that whilſt *Thraſylus* was at *Athens*, *Agis* came out of *Decelea* to forage, and advanc't as far as the very Walls of the place: Whereupon *Thraſylus* marching out with the *Athenians*, and all the Forreigners that were in the City, drew up in *Battalia* beſide the *Lyceum*, and reſolved to fight him, if he advanc't any farther. When *Agis* ſaw that, he retreated haſtily, and loſt ſome of his Rear, that were cut off by the Light-arm'd men.

A School in which *Ariſtotle* taught.

This Action made the *Athenians* more favourable

favourable to *Thraſylus* in the Affair he came about; inſomuch that they decreed he ſhould raiſe a thouſand Heavy armed men, a hundred Horſe, and *ſet out* fifty Gallies. *Agis* diſcovering from *Decelea* a Fleet of Corn Ships * running up the † *Piræus*, cried it was in vain for him to ſpend ſo much time in blocking up the *Athenians* by Land, unleſs their Proviſions were cut off, that came by Sea: ſo that it would be the beſt way to ſend *Clearchus* the Son of *Ramphius* the *Publick Hoſt of the *Byzantines*, to *Chalcedon*, and *Byzantium*. This advice being opproved of, he parted with fifteen Sail fitted out by the *Megareans*, and other Confederates, that were Ships fitter for † Burthen than Service. Three of which were deſtroyed in the *Helleſpont* by the nine *Athenian Guard-Ships* that continually obſerved what Ships paſſed that way; the reſt fled to *Seſtos*, and got ſafe from thence to *Byzantium*.

Καταπλοῦν. The Port Town to *Athens* joyned to the City by two long walls.

* Πρόξενον, One that took care of Strangers and Embaſſadors to provide them reception, hereby contracting an intimacy with thoſe they entertain'd, and ſo becoming the fitter Perſons for Embaſſadors. *Pollux*.

† Στρατιώτιδες, are oppoſed to ναυτικαὶ, that are uſed for Men of War; the other being made to tranſport Soldiers in, and to be Tenders to the Fleet.

XXIII. Year of the War. *Diocles Archon.*

Thus the year ended wherein the *Carthaginians* under *Hannibal* their General invaded

invaded *Sicily* with an Army of an hundred thouſand men, and took in three Months time *Selinus* and *Himera*, two Cities that were *Greek* Colonies. The Year following * the *Athenians* fortified *Thoricus*, and *Thraſylus* taking the Ships that were ordered him, armed five thouſand Sea-men with Targets, that they might ſerve for Targetiers, as he ſaw occaſion; and parted for *Samos* the beginning of Summer, where having ſtayd three days, he ſailed from thence to *Pygela*. Here he deſtroyed the Countrey, and made an attempt upon the Town. Where ſome from *Miletus* coming to aſſiſt the *Pygeleans*, perſued the Straglers of the *Athenian* Light-armed men: but the Targetiers, and two Companies of Heavy-armed men ſuccouring their Light-armed, killed moſt of the *Mileſians*, and taking about two hundred Shields erected a Trophy. The day after they ſailed to *Notium*, and there having made preparations for their Voyage went to *Colophon*, the People whereof came over to them, and the ſame Night they fell into *Lydia*, when the Corn was ripe, burning ſeveral Villages, and got many Slaves, and a very great Booty. *Stages* the *Perſian* being in thoſe Parts, and aſſiſted by a Body

* Which was the 93 *Olympiad*, in which *Evagoras* the *Elean* was Victor with the Chariot added by *Alcmæon*, *Eubotas* the *Cyrenean* won the foot Race, *Evarchippus* was *Ephorus* of *Sparta*, and *Euctemon* *Archon* of *Athens*, *vid.* the end of the ſeventh Book.

a Body of Horſe took one of their men Priſoner, and killed ſeven more; the *Athenians* in the mean while being ſtragled from their Camp, and every one intent upon his own Spoyl. Afterwards *Thraſylus* marcht off with his men to the Sea-ſide, and made ſhew as if he would ſail to *Epheſus*; but *Tiſſaphernes* ſuſpecting his Deſign drew a ſtrong Body of men together, and ſent away the Horſe, commanding them all to go to *Epheſus*, and protect the Goddeſs *Diana*.

The 17 Day after this Incurſion *Thraſylus* ſailed to *Epheſus*, and landed his Heavy-armed men at *Coreſſus*; but the Horſe, Targetiers, Sea-men, and all the reſt of his Forces *he landed* at the *Marſh* on the other ſide of the Town, and advanc't by break of day with his Army in two Bodies. On the other hand the People of *Epheſus*, the Auxiliaries commanded by *Tiſſaphernes*, the *Syracuſians* from on board the firſt twenty Ships, thoſe alſo from on board the other five that lately arrived with the Admirals *Eucles* the Son of *Hippo*, and *Heraclides* the Son of *Ariſtogenes*, and the two *Selinuntians*, uniting all their Forces againſt the Enemy, ſet firſt upon the Heavy-armed men at *Coreſſus*. Where having killed about an hundred,

hundred, they routed and perſued the reſt to the Sea-ſide, and afterwards turned upon thoſe that were poſted at the *Marſh*.

Here alſo the *Athenians* fled, and near three hundred of them were deſtroyed, for which the *Epheſians* erected a Trophy at each place, and gave Rewards both from the Publick, and from private hands to ſeveral *Syracuſians*, and *Selinuntians* that had behaved themſelves with bravery, as alſo Immunities from Taxes for ever to any of their Countrey that would live amongſt them, and gave the *Selinuntians* freedom of their City, in conſideration that they had loſt their Countrey. The *Athenians* made Truce to fetch off their ſlain, and ſailed to *Notium* where they buried them; and ſo went to *Lesbos*, and the *Helleſpont*. As they were going into Port at *Mithymna* in *Lesbos*, they diſcovered twenty five Sail of *Syracuſians* paſſing by from *Epheſus*, and bearing up to them they took four, men and all, and chaſed the reſt to *Epheſus*. *Thraſylus* ſent all the Priſoners to *Athens*, but ſton'd *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, Couſin to his Nameſake, and Companion in Exile. From thence he ſailed to the reſt of the Fleet at *Seſtos*, and

and there tranſported the whole Army to *Lampſacus*.

Now the Winter was coming on, wherein the *Syracuſian* Priſoners that were kept in the *Piræan* Quarries digging through the Rock, and making their eſcape by Night, got ſome to *Decelea*, and the reſt to *Megara*. When *Alcibiades* made a General Muſter of his Forces at *Lampſacus*, the old Soldiers who had ne'r been beaten, refuſed to be marſhalled with *Thraſylus* his men, for that theſe had been foyled. Yet all had their Winter Quarters together, and having fortified *Lampſacus* they made an attempt upon *Abydus*: to the Relief of which *Pharnabazus* came with a ſtrong Body of Horſe but was beaten, and put to flight. *Alcibiades* perſued him with his Horſe, and an hundred and ten Heavy-armed men commanded by *Menander*, till the Night parted them. After this Fight the Soldiers became good Friends with *Thraſylus* his men, and embraced them.

This Winter they made ſeveral Incurſions up into the Continent, and waſted the King of *Perſia* his Country. About the ſame time, the *Lacedemonians* diſmiſt upon ſafe Conduct thoſe Slaves that had deſerted at *Malea*, and fled to *Coryphaſium*

um Much about that time alſo the *Achæans* betrayed the Colony of *Heraclea Trachinia*, when they ſtood in Battle againſt the *Oeteans* their common Enemies, ſo that near ſeven hundred were killed, amongſt which was *Labotes* of *Lacedemon* the Governour. Thus ended the Year in which the *Medes* rebelled againſt *Darius* King of the *Perſians*, and returned not long after to their Allegiance again.

XXIV. *Olymp.* Xcii. *Euctemon Archon.*

The Year following the Temple of *Minerva* at *Phocæa* was conſumed by * Lightning in a moſt violent Storm. After the Winter was paſt, and 22 years of the War elapſt: the *Athenians* early in the Spring ſailed with their whole Fleet to *Præconneſus*, and going from thence to *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium*, they beſieged the former. The *Chalcedonians*, when they received Intelligence that the *Athenians* were coming upon them, depoſited their Goods in the hands of the *Thracian Bithynians* their Neighbours. But *Alcibiades*, took a Body of Heavy-armed men and Horſe, ordering the Ships to coaſt along, and marching to the *Bithynians* demanded the *Chalcedonians* Goods, threatning to treat them as Enemies, unleſs they were delivered, and deliver them they did. After-

* Ἀφυσσὸς, was the Governour of a place, and a General that was ſent upon an expedition. And an Officer like the Dictator *Cragius. Preſter Plin.* 2. *l.* 50. *c.*

Afterwards *Alcibiades* having made a League with them, and carried his Booty to the Camp, he employed his whole Army, and encompaſt *Chalcedon* with a Wall from Sea to Sea, and made a Boom croſs the River. There *Hippocrates* the Governour a *Lacedemonian* drew his Forces out of the Town to engage the *Athenians*, and they faced him. In the mean while *Pharnabazus* came with his Infantry, and a ſtrong Party of Horſe, from without the Works to relieve *the beſieged*. *Hippocrates* and *Thraſylus* each of them engaged with their Heavy-armed men a conſiderable time, till *Alcibiades* came to his relief with his Heavy-armed men, and Horſe. *Hippocrates* was killed, and his men fled back into the Town. At the ſame time *Pharnabazus* having not been able to joyn him by reaſon of the ſtrait Paſs over the River, and the Works that were juſt by, retired to his Camp near *Hercules* his Temple in the Countrey of the *Chalcedonians*.

A while after *Alcibiades* going to the *Helleſpont*, and *Cherſoneſe* to raiſe money; the other Generals made this Stipulation with *Pharnabazus* about *Chalcedon*. That he ſhould give the *Athenians* twenty Talents, and conduct their Ambaſſadors to the

An *Attic* Talent is 6000 *Drachma's Pollux. i.e.* 187 *l.* 10 *s. Sterling*, the Total 3750 *lib.*

the King *his Maſter*. Thereupon they ſwore to each other that the *Chalcedonians* ſhould pay the *Athenians* the uſual Tribute, and what was due beſide; on the contrary that the *Athenians* ſhould not make War upon the *Chalcedonians*, till the Ambaſſadors from the King of *Perſia* ſhould arrive. *Alcibiades* was not preſent at the Ratification of the Treaty, but ſat down before *Selymbria*; which he took, and marcht to *Byzantium* with the whole Strength of the *Cherſonites*, *Thracian* Soldiers, and above three hundred Horſe. *Pharnabazus* tarr yedat *Chalcedon* in expectation of *Alcibiades* from *Byzantium*, becauſe he would have him take the Oath; but when he came not thither, *Pharnabazus* refuſed to be ſworn, unleſs *Alcibiades* was ſworn too. *Alcibiades* took the Oath afterwards at *Chryſopolis*, before *Metrobates*, and *Arnapes*, *Pharnabazus* his Deputies. *Pharnabazus* not only took the Oath for the Peace before *Euryptolemus*, and *Diotimus*, *Alcibiades* his Commiſſioners at *Chalcedon*; but made likewiſe a private Agreement there between himſelf, and *Alcibiades*.

Afrer this *Pharnabazus* departed immediately, and ordered the Ambaſſadors that were going to the King of *Perſia* to meet him

him at *Cyzicus*. There were of the *Athenians Dorotheus*, and *Philodocus*, and with these *Cleostratus* and *Pyrrholochus* the *Argives*. There went of the *Lacedemonians*, *Pasippidas*, and others; besides these there went *Hermocrates* who was lately banish't *Syracuse*, and his Brother *Proxenus*. *Theogenes*, *Eurytolemus*, *Mantitheus*.

In the mean time, whilst *Pharnabazus* conducted the Ambassadors, the *Athenians* besieged *Byzantium*, and after they had built a Wall round the place, they made some light Skirmishes, and advanced up to the Walls of the City. There were in *Byzantium Clearchus* the Governour a *Lacedemonian* with some of the Neighbourhood, a small Party of Half-Slaves, the *Megareans* commanded by *Elixus* their Countryman, and the *Bœotians* by *Cyratadas*. The *Athenians* not being able to effect any thing by force, perswaded some of the *Byzantines* to betray the City. *Clearchus* the Governour not suspecting any would attempt it, put things in the best order he could, and leaving *Cyratadas* and *Elixus* to command, went over the Water to *Pharnabazus* to receive pay for his Soldiers, and to get together the Ships in the *Hellespont*, with the Guard Ships *Pasippidas* had left, those at *Antan-*

Νεοδαμώδεις, those that were made free like the *Libertinus Miles* in Suet.

drus, as alſo them that *Hegeſandridas*, *Mindarus* his Vice-Admiral had on the Coaſt of *Thrace*, and to build more; that he might infeſt the *Athenian* Allies with this Fleet, and ſo divert the Army from *Byzantium*.

When *Clearchus* had ſet ſail, *Cydo*, *Ariſto*, *Anaxcrates* and *Lycurgus*, that were to betray *Byzantium* having all things in a readineſs opened the *Thracian* Gate in the Night, and let in *Alcibiades* with his Army. *Anaxilaus* alſo was one of theſe Traytors, and was after tryed for this Treaſon at *Lacedemon*, but acquitted, for that he was a *Byzantine*, and not a *Lacedemonian*; and it appeared, he did not ſo much betray the Town, as preſerve the lives of thoſe in it. For when he ſaw the Women and Children ready to ſtarve, becauſe *Clearchus* had given what Corn there was in the City to the *Lacedemonian* Soldiers: he pleaded that he received in the Enemies for this reaſon, and not for love of their money, or out of hatred to the *Lacedemonians*. *Elixus* and *Cyratadas* who knew nothing of the matter, came with their whole ſtrength to the Market-place, but the Enemy having poſſeſt themſelves of all the Poſts, and they being not able to make any reſiſtance, yielded

yielded themſelves Priſoners, and were ſent to *Athens*, where *Cyratadas* ſtole privately away in the Crowd that was going aſhore at the *Piræus*, and got ſafe to *Decelea*.

In the mean while *Pharnabazus*, and the Ambaſſadors that wintered at *Gordium* in *Phrygia*, heard what had paſt at *Byzantium*; and as they were going to the King of *Perſia* in the beginning of Spring they met *Bœotius* and his Colleagues, the *Lacedemonian* Ambaſſadors, in company of ſome other Envoys on their way from *Aſia*. Theſe reported that the *Lacedemonians* had obtained all their Demands of the King, that *Cyrus* had Orders to aſſiſt them, and was to be Governor of all the Maritime Provinces; and that he had brought Letters under the Broad Seal to the People of *Aſia Minor*, to this Effect. I ſend *Cyrus*, to be *Caranus* of thoſe Forces that Rendevous at *Caſtolus*; *Caranus* is *Generaliſſimo*. The *Athenian* Ambaſſadors when they heard this, and had ſeen *Cyrus*, were very earneſt to go to the King, or elſe return home. But *Cyrus* commanded *Pharnabazus* to deliver them up to him; at leaſt not to let them go home, being unwilling the *Athenians* ſhould underſtand what had XXV. Year *Artigenes Archon*. Βασιλέως σφραγίσμα. Κύρου.

paſſed. *Pharnabazus* detained the Ambaſſadors, and that he might not be blamed, he ſometimes gave out that he would conduct them to the King, and other whiles that he would ſend them home. At three years end he entreated *Cyrus* to permit them to depart, telling him, he had obliged himſelf by Oath to convoy them as far as the Sea, if he could not bring them to the King. At laſt they ſent them to *Ariobarzanes*, and commanded him to conduct them, who convoyed them as far as *Cius* in *Miſia*, from whence they ſailed to the *Athenian* Fleet.

Alcibiades having a deſire to return home, went immediately with the Army to *Samos*, and taking twenty Ships from thence, ſet ſail for the Golf of *Ceramicus* in *Caria*; where he raiſed an hundred Talents and returned to *Samos* again. *Thraſybulus* went with thirty Sail to *Thrace*, and, amongſt other Places that had revolted from the *Athenians*, took in *Thaſus*, which was reduced to a miſerable condition by War, Sedition, and Famine. *Thraſylus* ſet ſail with the reſt of the Fleet for *Athens*; before whoſe Arrival they had nominated for Admirals, *Alcibiades* that was in Exile, *Thraſybulus* who

18750*l.*

was

was abroad, and for a third, *Conon*, one of thoſe that were at home.

Alcibiades returns from Baniſhment.

In the mean while *Alcibiades* went from *Samos* with the money, and twenty Sail of Ships to *Parus*. From whence he ſtood directly to *Gytheum* to make diſcovery of the thirty Gallies, which he heard the *Lacedemonians* were fitting out there, and to learn, whether he ſhould be recalled home, and how the Government ſtood affected towards him. When he underſtood they were well inclined, having choſen him General, and ſent for his Friends in private; he returned up the *Piræus* the day the *Plynteria* were kept, and *Minerva*'s Image covered, which ſome preſaged would prove unfortunate both to his Country, and himſelf. For no *Athenian* dares undertake any thing of moment that day.

A Feaſt in honour of *Minerva*, wherein the Ornaments were taken off the Image, and the Image covered, eſteemed an unfortunate day, *Plut. in Alcib.* the like Feaſt was at *Argos Callim.*

When he arrived, all the People flock'd out of the *Piræus*, and City to the Ships, admiring and longing to ſee *Alcibiades*, crying, He was the braveſt man of their Country, that he only was declared to have been unjuſtly baniſhed, being circumvented by thoſe that were of leſs Abilities and Eloquence than himſelf, and that ſerved themſelves of the Government. That he always promoted the

good of the Commonwealth, not only with the Publick Stock, but his private Fortune. That having been impeached for prophaning the Holy Myſteries, he deſired to come immediately to his Trial, yet his Enemies, though his Requeſt ſeemed juſt, put it off till another time, and when he was abſent, baniſhed him. In the mean while, he being compelled to a ſervile compliance, and forced to careſs his greateſt Enemies, was continually in danger of his Life; and though he ſaw the miſcarriages of State, yet was rendred uncapable by his Exile of ſerving his deareſt Friends, and Countrymen. Such a man as he (ſaid they) needed no Innovations, nor change of Government, but that he could prefer himſelf by the favour of the People, before any of his years, and not come ſhort of thoſe that were older; and appear the ſame man to his Enemies, that he was before. Theſe when they had gotten any power, ruined the beſt of men, and though none but themſelves were left *in the Government*, yet they were reſpected by the People for no other reaſon, but becauſe they wanted better to employ.

On the contrary, others ſaid, that he was the ſole cauſe of their former evils, and

and that none but he durſt attempt ſuch things, as could endanger the Government. *Alcibiades* did not land immediately upon his Arrival, for fear of his Enemies, but getting upon Deck, looked if any of his Friends were there, and when he ſaw *Euryptolemus* the Son of *Piſianax* his Couſin with divers of his Relations, and Friends, he landed, and went up into the City accompanied with thoſe that were ready to have prevented any Affront, that might be offered. He made his Defence before the Senate and Aſſembly; that he had not profaned the Holy Myſteries, but was tradured, with more to the ſame purpoſe.

The Aſſembly ſuffering none to contradict him, declared him *Generaliſſimo* of all their Forces, as one that could maintain the former Grandeur of his Countrey. Then he drew out the whole Army, and celebrated the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries upon the account of the War at Land, which the *Athenians* for fear of the Enemy performed at Sea. After this he made a levy of fifteen hundred Heavy-armed men, an hundred and fifty Horſe, and equip't an hundred Sail of Ships.

The third Month after his return he went againſt *Andros* which had revolted

from the *Athenians*. There were joyned with him *Adimantus*, and *Aristocrates*, Generals at Land. *Alcibiades* putting his men ashore at *Gaurium* a place in *Andros*, routed the *Andrians* when they came with their Succors, and shut the besieged up in the Town, having slain others besides the *Lacedemonians* that were there. Whereupon he erected a Trophy, and staying several days in that place he went to *Samos*, and made that the Seat of the War.

Son of *Leucorophides.*

Ὡρμώμεθ' ἐντολήμεν.

The *Lacedemonians*, *Crateſippidas* his Commiſſion being expired, ſent *Lyſander* Admiral, who arriving at *Rhodes*, and taking with him the Fleet from thence ſailed to *Cos* and *Miletus*, and next to *Epheſus*, where he lay with ſeventy Sail till *Cyrus* came to *Sardes*. Upon his arrival, he went with the *Lacedemonian* Ambaſſadors to *Cyrus*, and complained of *Tiſſaphernes*, deſiring him that he would apply himſelf vigorouſly to the War. *Cyrus* told them he had received ſuch Orders from his Father, and that he was fully reſolved to execute them. He farther acquainted them, that he had brought five hundred Talents with him, and if that were not enough, he would make uſe of his own mony which his Father

93750 *lib.*

ther had given him; and if all this was not ſufficient he would make mony of the Throne he ſat on, which was all Silver and Gold. They liked this very well, and adviſed him to give every Sea-man an *Attic* * *Drachma* a piece for their pay, ſhewing that if they had ſo much, the *Athenian* Sailers would deſert the Service, and ſo his expences would be the leſs. He told them what they ſaid was well, but that he could not go contrary to the King's Orders, and that by the Treaty the *Lacedemonians* were to receive thirty † *Mina's* a Month for every Ship they kept out.

Καταχέπτειν, to ſtamp money.

* 7 *d. ob.* Engliſh, for it was exchanged for the *Roman Denarius*, and the *Latins* turn the ſums of *Drachma's* into *Deniers.*

† A *Mina* contains 100 *Drachma's*, *Pollux*, that is 3 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* *Tot.* 93 *l.* 15 *s.*

Lyſander made no reply at that time, but after Supper when *Cyrus* drank to him, and asked him in what he could oblige him moſt, he made anſwer; if you'll raiſe every Sea-man's pay an * *Obolus*; which was accordingly done, and from that time their pay was four *Oboli*, whereas before it was but three. He alſo paid them their Arrears, and gave them a Months pay Advance, which made the Sea-men far more couragious. The *Athenians* were quite diſheartned when they heard this; and ſent Ambaſſadors through *Tiſſaphernes* his means to *Cyrus*, but he would not receive them though deſired

* Is five farthings, or the ſixth part of a *Drachma*, *Pollux.*

desired by *Tissaphernes:* who told him that *Alcibiades* his Advice to him was to take care that none of the *Greeks* should grow powerful, but be kept weakned by their Divisions. *Lysander* having setled Affairs thus in the Fleet, and haled up his ninety Gallies ashore in the Port of *Ephesus*, lay still refitting them, and refreshing his men.

Alcibiades falls into Disgrace.

Alcibiades hearing *Thrasybulus* was gone without the *Hellespont* to fortifie *Phocæa*, went after him, and left the Fleet under the Command of *Antiochus* his Captain, charging him not to come near *Lysander*. Yet *Antiochus* went himself and another Ship from *Notium* to the Port of *Ephesus*, and sailed close under the very Stems of *Lysander*'s Ships. *Lysander* at first Launched a few Ships to give him chase, but after the *Athenians* came in with a stronger Squadron to relieve *Antiochus*, he drew up the whole Fleet in good order, and bore up to the Enemy. Then the *Athenians* lanch't the rest of their Gallies at *Notium*, and coming up as fast as every one of them could get Sea-room, they engaged forthwith; the *Lacedemonians* fought in good order, the *Athenians* with a scattered Fleet, until they had lost fifteen Sail, and then

Lysander's Victory.

then they fled. Moſt of the men eſcaped, except ſome few that were taken Priſoners. *Lyſander* took the Ships along with him, and having erected a Trophy, ſailed to *Epheſus*. The *Athenians* went to *Samos*; to which place *Alcibiades* coming afterwards, went with his whole Fleet from thence to the Port of *Epheſus*, and drew up before the mouth of it, to ſee if any would come out to engage. But when *Lyſander* refuſed to come out, becauſe he was much inferiour to the other in number of Ships, he ſailed to *Samos*.

A while after the *Lacedemonians* took *Delphinium* and *Eion*. When the News of the Fight was brought to *Athens*; the *Athenians* were very much incens'd againſt *Alcibiades*, ſuppoſing he had loſt the Fleet through careleſsneſs, and ill Conduct. And therefore they choſe ten new Admirals. *Alcibiades* having gotten the ill will of the Fleet took one Gally, and went to his Fort in the *Cherſoneſe*. After this *Conon* went by the Decree of the *Athenians* with the twenty Sail he had brought from *Andros*, to the Fleet at *Samos*; to which place *Phanoſthenes* was ſent with four Gallies in his ſtead. He in his way thither light upon two *Thurian*

'Αλεξάτειος, *Conon, Diomedon, Leo, Pericles, Eraſinides, Ariſtocrates, Archeſtratus, Protomachus, Thraſylus, Ariſtogenes.*

an Gallies, and took them men and all. The *Athenians* bound all the Priſoners except their Commander *Dorieus*, whom they out of pity diſmiſt ranſom-free: He then lived at *Thurii*, but was a *Rhodian*, and had been baniſh't *Rhodes*, as he was alſo from *Athens*, where he and his Relations were condemned to death. *Conon* arriving at *Samos*, and finding the Fleet in a very ill condition, made it up ſeventy Sail inſtead of the former that conſiſted of above an hundred. He alſo took along with him the other Admirals, and putting to Sea, made ſeveral Deſcents, and haraſſed the Enemie's Countrey.

XXVI. Year begins *Olymp.* Xciii. *Callias Archon.*

Thus the Year ended in which the *Carthaginians* invaded *Sicily* with an hundred and twenty Gallies and a Land-Army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, and though they loſt a Battle, yet they took *Agrigentum* by Famine after a Siege of ſeven Months.

*. *Gloſſ.* Wherein the Moon was eclipſed in the Evening, the old Temple of *Minerva* at *Athens* was burnt, *Pityas* was *Ephorus*, and *Callias Archon.*

The year following, * being the twenty ſixth Year of the War, the *Lacedemonians* ſent *Callicratidas* to ſucceed *Lyſander* in the Fleet, whoſe time was now expired. When *Lyſander* reſigned the Fleet he told *Callicratidas*, that his Victory had made him Lord of the Sea, and that as ſuch he delivered up the Fleet.

Callicratidas

Callicratidas replied, He would acknowledge him Lord of the Sea, if he would coaſt along from *Epheſus* to the left of *Samos* (where the *Athenian* Fleet lay) and reſign it at *Miletus*. But *Lyſander* made anſwer, That he would not meddle whilſt another Commanded.

Callicratidas, beſides the Ships he had from *Lyſander*, reinforc't his Fleet with 50 Sail more from *Chius*, *Rhodes*, and the other Allies; and having got together his whole Fleet conſiſting of an hundred and forty Sail, he made preparation to meet the Enemy. But when he found that *Lyſander*'s Friends mutined againſt him, not only obeying unwillingly, but giving out in the Confederate Cities, that the *Lacedemonians* committed a great Error in changing their Admirals, and ſent ſuch as were unfit for Command, no Seamen, that knew not how to manage men, unskilful in Sea-Affairs, and unknown to the Sailers, whereby their Affairs were in danger to be damnified; *Callicratidas* called the *Lacedemonians* that were there together, and ſpoke to them after this manner. "I could have been content "to have ſtaid at home. Nor do I care "whether *Lyſander*, or any man elſe be "eſteemed a better Seaman than my ſelf.

Callicratidas his Speech to the Mutinous Soldiers.

"I was

"I was ſent by the Government to com-
"mand the Fleet, and my only buſineſs
"is to execute their Orders to the utmoſt
"of my Power. And ſeeing 'tis my
"earneſt deſire to ſerve my Country, I
"crave your beſt Advice about theſe Af-
"fairs (which you underſtand as well as
"my ſelf) to know of you whether I muſt
"ſtay or return home, and relate what
"condition things are in here. None durſt gainſay, but acknowledge that the Government muſt be obeyed, and his Orders obſerved. After that he went to *Cyrus*, and demanded pay for his men, who bid him wait two days. *Callicratidas* took this delay very hainouſly, being enraged to run ſo often after him to Court; crying, The *Greeks* were very miſerable in flattering the *Barbarians* for money; adding, That if ever he returned home alive, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavour to beget a good underſtanding between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*. Soon after he went to *Miletus*, and diſpatch't ſome Ships from thence to *Lacedemon* for money; where having aſſembled the *Mileſians*, he ſpoke thus to them. "I
"(Gentlemen of *Miletus*) muſt of ne-
"ceſſity obey the Orders I have received
"from the States my Maſters; and my
"requeſt

Callicratidas his Speech to the *Mileſians*.

"requeſt to you is, That you would per-
"ſue the War with all the application ima-
"ginable; for you live amongſt the *Bar-*
"*barians*, and have ſuffered very much from
"them already. You ought to ſet a good
"Example to the Allies, and uſe your ut-
"moſt Endeavours, and ſpeedieſt Dili-
"gence to infeſt the Enemy, till the re-
"turn of thoſe from *Lacedemon* which
"I have ſent thither for Money. For
"*Lyſander* has refunded the money which
"was here, to *Cyrus*; as if it had been
"ſuperfluous, and is gone his way. When
"I went to *Cyrus*, he put me off, and
"could not be ſpoke with. Nor could I
"endure to dance attendance after him.
"In the mean time if we have any good Ἐπὶ δόρατος ποιεῖσθαι.
"ſucceſs, I engage to make you a ſuitable
"return. Let us ſhew the *Barbarians*,
"that we by the favour of Heaven, can
"revenge our ſelves on our Enemies,
"without having their Forces in admira-
"tion. After he had made an end, ſeve-
ral roſe up, and eſpecially thoſe that were
informed againſt for oppoſing his Deſigns,
who out of fear propoſed a way to raiſe
money, and there offered ſome on their
private Accounts; with which, and with
the Contributions he had raiſed in *Chius*,
he paid every Seaman five *Drachmas*, and 3 *l.* 1 *d. ob.*
went

went to *Methymna* in *Lesbos*, that was then in the Enemie's hands. The *Methymneans* becauſe the Garriſon were *Athenians*, and the Principal men of the *Athenian* Faction, would not ſurrender: whereupon he attackt the Town, and took it by Storm. The Soldiers had the plunder, but *Callicratidas* brought all the Slaves into the Market-place; and when the Confederates cried, The *Methymneans* ſhould alſo be ſold for Slaves, He ſaid, No *Greek*, if he could help it, ſhould be made a Slave, whilſt he was General.

Μοιχῶντα, a Saying of a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador goes about to this purpoſe, That the *Eaſt Indies* were the King his Maſter's Miſtreſs, which he would communicate to other Nations, but the *Weſt Indies* his Wife which he would reſerve to himſelf.

The day after he diſmiſt the Freemen, ſo that only the Garriſon of the *Athenians*, and the Slaves, were ſold. He threatned *Conon* that he would make him leave * whoring the Sea; and ſeeing him ſtand out to Sea by break of day, he gave him chaſe, and cut him off of *Samos*, that he might not run in there. *Conon* retreated in ſome good Sailers, having put the beſt Rowers that he had choſe out of ſeveral Crews on board a few Ships, and ran into *Mitylene* with *Leo* and *Eraſinides* two of the ten Admirals. *Callicratidas* followed him into the ſame Port with an hundred and ſeventy Sail. *Conon* being prevented by the Citizens from putting into Harbour, was forced to engage at the Mouth

Mouth of the Haven where he loſt thirty Sail, yet the Men got aſhore; the other forty Ships he haled up under the Fort. *Callicratidas* went into the Harbour, and having blockt him up, ſo that he could not ſail out, he ſent by Land for the whole ſtrength of *Methymna*, and tranſported other Forces from *Chius*. At that time there came a Supply of Money from *Cyrus*.

Conon being blockt up by Sea and Land, and not able to get in any Proviſions, there being a great many men in the Town, and no Aſſiſtance from the *Athenians* who had not received any Intelligence of what had paſſed; launcht two of the beſt Sailers he had, and fitted them out before day, picking the ableſt Rowers out of the whole Fleet, which he put on board a *Brigandine*, and covered them with the * Waſtcloaths. Thus they paſſed on the day. In the Evening when it was dark, he took out his men again that the Enemy might not diſcover his Deſign. On the firſt day having gotten ſufficient Proviſions aboard, they ſailed out of Port at Noon-day when the Guard-Ships were careleſs, and taking their reſt. The one ſhap't her courſe for the *Helleſpont*, the other ſtood out to Sea. They

* Παραπετάσματα, were partly for Defence, and partly for Blinds, *Schiſ. de Milit. Nav. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

that belonged to the Guardſhips happ'ning then to be at Dinner aſhore, came running with a confuſed noiſe, cut their Cables, got on board, and as faſt as every one of them could get out to Sea, they gave chaſe to her that ſtood out to Sea, and coming up with her by Sun-ſet, engaged, took her, and all her men, and towed her to the Fleet. She that went to the *Helleſpont* eſcap't and carried News of the blockade to *Athens*.

Diomedon coming to relieve *Conon* when he was blockt up, put into *Mitylene* Chanel with twelve Sail. *Callicratidas* took ten of them by ſurpriſe, *Diomedon* only eſcaping with his own and another. When the *Athenians* heard of the Blockade, and what had paſſed, they decreed that an hundred and ten Sail ſhould be ſent to relieve the Beſieged, putting aboard all Freemen and Slaves that were of age for Service, and fitted out the hundred and ten in thirty days, and having ſhipt ſeveral Horſe on board them they ſet ſail. They went in the firſt place to *Samos*, from whence they had ten *Samians*, and got above thirty more from the reſt of the Confederates, having preſſed all for the Service. The like was done to thoſe Ships that were abroad.

They

They were in all above an hundred and fifty Sail. As ſoon as *Callicratidas* heard that the Succors were arrived at *Samos*, he left fifty Ships there under the Command of *Eteonicus*, and put to Sea with an hundred and twenty, dining at *Cape Malea* in *Lesbos* over againſt *Mitylene*.

The ſame day the *Athenians* ſupped at *Arginuſæ*, which is over againſt that part of *Lesbos*, where *Cape Malea* is oppoſite to *Mitylene*. At Night *Callicratidas* diſcovered the Fires, and ſome reporting that they belonged to the *Athenians*, he weighed at midnight to go and ſurpriſe them; but a great Storm of Rain and Thunder prevented his Deſign. After it ceaſed he ſailed by break of day towards *Arginuſæ*. The *Athenians* met him out at Sea on the left in this order. * *Ariſtocrates* led the right wing with fifteen Sail, and next him was *Diomedon* with fifteen more. *Pericles* was placed in the Rear of *Ariſtocrates*, and *Eraſinides* a Stern of *Diomedon*'s Squadron. Next to *Diomedon* were the *Samians* with ten Ships in rank under the Command of *Hippeus* their Countreyman, next to theſe were ten Captains of the Heavy-armed men in Rank, and three Admirals with the Confederates in the Rear of theſe. *Protoma-*

The Sea-fight at *Arginuſæ*.

chus had the right Wing with fifteen Sail; next him lay *Thraſylus* with fifteen more. *Lyſias* lay in the Rear of *Protomachus* with the like number, and *Ariſtogenes* in the Rear of *Thraſylus*. They drew up in this Figure, that the Enemy might not charge through them, becauſe their Ships were worſe Sailers than the others. The *Lacedemonian*'s Ships being nimble, and fitted either to charge through the Enemie's Fleet, or to ſurround it, were drawn up all in a Line. *Callicratidas* had the Van.

Here *Hermo*, and *Megareus Callicratidas* his Pilot told him, he would do well to retreat, becauſe the *Athenian* Gallies were much more ſuperiour in number. *Callicratidas* told them again, that *Sparta* would be ne'r the worſe inhabited, though he were ſlain, and that it was diſhonourable to fly. Then they had a long Engagement, at firſt in good order, afterwards in confuſion. But when *Callicratidas* charged into the Enemie's Fleet with his own Ship, and falling over board could ne'r be ſeen more, and *Protomachus* in the right Wing had beaten the Enemie's left, the *Peloponneſians* run moſt of them to *Phocæa*, and ſome to *Chios*. The *Athenians* returned to *Arginuſæ*. There were twenty five Sail of the *Athenians* loſt,

loſt, men and all, except a few that got aſhore. Of the *Peloponneſians*; nine *Lacedemonians* out of ten, and ſixty of the other Confederates.

The Admirals thought it convenient to ſend *Theramenes* and *Thraſybulus* that fitted out Gallies * at their own expence, and ſome of the Captains of Heavy-armed men, to go to the Ships that were diſabled, & ſinking, and take up their men; the reſt to go and fall upon *Eteonicus* who blockt up *Mitylene*. But they were hindred by a violent Wind, and Storm from executing their Deſign. So they erected a Trophy and ſtaid there all Night. In the mean time there came to *Eteonicus* an Advice-Boat with News of the Sea-fight. He ſent her away and commanded them on board her to ſail out of Harbour, without haling any Ship, and forthwith to return to the Fleet with Garlands, Crying, *Callicratidas* had obtained a Victory at Sea, and that all the *Athenian* Fleet was deſtroyed. They obeyed their Orders, and after they returned, he ſacrificed for the † good News, commanding the men to Sup, the Merchants to ſhip their Goods privately, and to go along with the Fleet in all haſt (for the Wind ſerved) to *Chius*. The Camp he burnt, and

* Τεσσαρακοντόρος was one that the Law obliged to ſet out a Gally at his own expence, which is mentioned in the ſecond Book of this Hiſtory, and called by *Demoſthenes* τεσσαρακοντόρος. For *Theramenes* could not be a Captain of a man of War, being he is called in two places of this Book, Στρατηγὸς, or Admiral.

† Juſt like our Bonfires.

and ſent the Foot to *Methymna*.

After the Enemy departed, *Conon* had a fair Gale, and launching his Ships, he met the *Athenians* that had parted a little before from *Arginuſæ*, and gave them an account of *Eteonicus*. The *Athenians* ſailed to *Mitylene*, and ſo forward to *Chius*, from whence they departed without any Action. The Government of *Athens* put all the Admirals out of Commiſſion except *Conon*; to whom they joyned *Adimantus*, and for a third *Philocles*. *Protomachus* and *Ariſtogenes* two of the Admirals that engaged, did not return to *Athens*. The other ſix * went thither.

* *Pericles, Diomedon, Lyſias, Ariſtocrates, Thraſilus,* and *Eraſinides.*

Archedemus the Governour of *Decelea*, and the greateſt man in *Athens* at that time, plotted ſecretly againſt *Eraſinides*; and accuſed him in Court for appropriating to himſelf the Publick money which came from the *Helleſpont*, and for ſomething about his Command; whereupon the Court thought fit to commit *Eraſinides*. When the Admirals gave a Relation of the Sea-fight and Violence of the Storm in the Senate-houſe, *Timocrates* moved that the reſt of them might be put in Irons, and delivered up to the People; accordingly the Senate ordered them to be taken

taken into Cuſtody. Soon after there was an Aſſembly, wherein ſeveral Perſons but chiefly *Theramenes*, accuſed the Admirals, who declared, they deſerved to be call'd to an Account for not taking up the Ship-wrackt men, and proved by the Evidence of a Letter ſent from the Admirals to the Senate and People, that they made no other pretence for not doing it, than that of the Storm. After this each of the Admirals made a ſhort Defence (for they were not ſuffered to plead according to Law) and gave a Relation of the whole Action.

That they perſued the Enemy, and that they gave Orders about taking up the men to thoſe that fitted out Gallies at their own charge, and to *Theramenes* and *Thraſibulus* who had formerly been Admirals, and to Perſons of the like Quality. That they knew of none to be accountable for not taking them up, except thoſe that were commanded to't. Neither (ſaid they) will we falſly lay the blame on them, tho they have impeacht us, for it was the Violence of the Storm that hindred the men from being taken up. Moreover they proved what they ſaid by the Depoſitions of the Maſters, and others that were in the Fleet, and gave the

People ſuch ſatisfaction, that ſeveral private men ſtood up, and offered to bail them.

But 'twas thought fit to adjourn the matter in hand till the next Aſſembly (for then it was ſo dark that they could not ſee their hands) that the Senate having prepared matters before, ſhould make their report how they would have the Priſoners tried. The Feaſt * *Apaturia* came ſoon after, wherein the Parents and Children aſſemble; at which *Theramenes* his Friends put ſeveral People in Mourning, and ſhaved them cloſe; that they might come into Court as the Relations of thoſe that were drowned, and prevailed with *Callixenus* to impeach the Admirals in the Senate. Upon this an Aſſembly was called, in which the Senate made their Report, and *Callixenus* read it. *Whereas the Accuſations, and Defences of the Admirals were heard laſt Court. Let all the* Athenians *give their Suffrages by their Tribes. Let there be ſet two Urns in every Tribe. Let the Cryer make Proclamation in every Tribe; and whoſoever is of Opinion that the Admirals are guilty of not taking up the Victors at Sea, let him put his Suffrage into the firſt Urn, and whoſoever is of the contrary*

* A Feaſt wherein the Parents brought their Children to be enrolled in the Tribes, *Caſtell. Syntag.*

contrary opinion, into the laſt. If they be found guilty let them be delivered to the *XI *men and put to death. Let their Eſtates be confiſcated, and the tenth part of them conſecrated to* Minerva. There came one into Court that ſaid he was ſaved on a Meal-tub, and depoſed that the drowning men charged him if he eſcaped with life to inform the People, that the Admirals refuſed to take thoſe up that had fought with ſo much bravery for their Countrey. *Euryptolemus*, and ſome others accuſed *Callixenus* for bringing in a Bill, that was contrary to Law; but the Rabble cried out 'twas an inſufferable thing to abridge the People of their abſolute Power. Hereupon, when *Lyciſcus* told them, that unleſs they forbore to meddle with the Juriſdiction of the Court, they ſhould be proceeded againſt, as the Admirals were. Again the Rabble made ſuch a Tumult, that they were forc't to let fall their Accuſation. But when the Judges declared, that they would ſuffer no Suffrage to be given contrary to Law: *Callixenus* went up into the Desk, and impeacht him for that. Then the Multidude cried, That they who would not aſſent, ſhould be accuſed. Hereupon all the Judges out of fear ſaid they would

* XI men were like Sheriffs to take care of the Priſoners, to ſee them tryed, and to do Juſtice on them.

The famous *Socrates.*

would ſubmit; except *Socrates* the Son of *Sophroniſcus*, who declared that he would do nothing contrary to Law.

Euryptolemus his Oration.

Euryptolemus went up after *Callixenus*, and ſpoke in Defence of the Admirals after this manner. "I am come up here (my "Lords) partly to accuſe, partly to defend "my Friend *Diomedon*, and *Pericles* my "Relation, & Kinſman, partly alſo to offer, "what I conceive will be for the general "good of my Countrey. I blame them for "perſwading their Colleagues to write to "the Senate and People: That they had "ordered *Theramenes* and *Thraſybulus* "with forty ſeven ſail of Ships to take up "the Ship-wrackt men, who ne'r ob- "ſerved their Orders; Whereby the miſ- "carriage of a few has involved all in a "common guilt, and they for their late "humanity are brought in danger of their "lives, by the ſecret Practiſes of theſe "and ſome others. Which yet they need "not apprehend, provided you will do "them Right and Juſtice. For thus you "ſhall be well informed of the Truth, "and have no cauſe to repent of your "Proceedings; nor find that you have "committed the two grand Offences both "againſt the Gods, and your own ſelves. "I offer ſuch things to your conſiderati-

"on,

"on, wherein neither I nor any elſe can "impoſe upon you; and if you find "them guilty, you may inflict what pu- "niſhment you pleaſe either on them "each ſeverally, or on all joyntly. On- "ly allow them one day, if not longer, "to make their defence in, that you may "not give more credit to others than "your ſelves. You (my Lords) know "all that *Canonus* his Law is very ſevere, "which ſays, the Priſoner for Treaſon a- "gainſt the State ſhall plead in Irons, "and if convict thereof, he ſhall be put "to death, and flung into the *Bara-* "*thrum*, his eſtate ſhall be confiſcated, and "a tenth part thereof ſhall be conſecra- "ted to *Minerva*. I move that the Ad- "mirals may be tried upon this Statute, "and begin firſt if you pleaſe with my "Couſin *Pericles*. For I ſhould be a- "ſhamed to value him above my Coun- "trey. Or if you had rather, let them "be tried upon the Statute againſt ſacri- "legious Perſons, and Traytors; *which* "*ſays*, that if any Perſon ſhall commit "Treaſon againſt the Government, or "ſhall ſteal any holy things, and upon a "legal trial be convict of the ſame, That "he ſhall have no * burial in *Attica*, and "his Eſtate ſhall be confiſcated. Let them "be

* There was a Law that no Traytor ſhould be buried publickly, *Thucy. 2. lib.*

"be proſecuted upon which you pleaſe
"of theſe two, and divide the day into
"three parts: the firſt, for you to meet,
"and them to be impleaded in, the next
"for them to make their Defence in, and
"the laſt to vote whether they be guilty,
"or not guilty. Thus (my Lords) the
"Delinquents ſhall be ſeverely puniſht,
"the Innocent acquitted, and not deſtroy-
"ed without any form of Juſtice. So
"ſhall you proceed according to Law, and
"your Oath; and do not conſpire with the
"*Lacedemonians* by condemning thoſe
"men without an Hearing, and contrary to
"Juſtice, who have come off victoriouſ-
"ly, and taken ſeventy Sail of Ships.
"What are you afraid of that you make
"ſo much haſt? Is it leſt you ſhould
"not have power to acquit or condemn
"any, without you had proceeded in an
"extrajudicial way? Like *Callixenus*,
"who moved that all the Admirals might
"be tried by one Suffrage. But if you
"condemn any innocent Perſon to death,
"whereof you may afterwards repent:
"conſider what a lamentable thing, and of
"what ill conſequence it will be to take
"away the lives of men without Forms
"of Juſtice. 'Tis very hard, when you
"allowed *Ariſtarchus* (who firſt endea-
"voured

" voured to ſubvert the Government, and " after that betrayed *Oenoe* to the *The-* " *bans* your Enemies) what day he deſi- " red to make his Defence in, and all " things elſe according to Law; to deny " the Admirals the ſame, who have van- " quiſht your Enemies, and fully anſwered " your Expectations. Far be it from you " (my Lords) to violate thoſe Laws, the " Obſervation of which has made you ſo " great.

" Proceed ye now to thoſe things that " ſeem moſt to affect the Admirals. Af- " ter they had beaten the Enemy at Sea, " and made to land, *Diomedon* adviſed " that the Fleet ſhould draw up in a " * line to go and take up the Wrecks, " and men. *Eraſinides* his Advice was " that the whole Fleet ſhould go directly " to attack the Enemy at *Mitylene*. *Thra-* " *ſylus* ſaid both might be done, if they " left ſome Ships there, and purſued with " the reſt. 'Twas reſolved that the eight " Admirals ſhould each of them ſend " three Ships out of their reſpective Di- " viſions, *viz.* ten Captains of the Heavy- " armed men, ten *Samians*, and three Ad- " mirals. Theſe made up forty ſeven " Sail, and were four to every Ship that " was loſt, there being twelve in all. A-

" mongſt

* Ἐπὶ κέρως, in a Line or Series, *Sch. Thucyd. ad 2. lib. de Phorm. claſſe.*

" mongſt which were *Theramenes* and " *Thraſybulus* who fitted out Gallies at " their own charge, that impeacht the " Admirals in the laſt Aſſembly; with " the reſt of the Fleet they went in pur- " ſuit of the Enemy. Which of theſe " things have they not well, and fully " diſcharged. 'Tis reaſonable then that " thoſe only ſhould be accountable for " Miſcarriages in the Fight, who were to " engage; and they only queſtioned for " not taking the men up, that had Orders " ſo to do, but obſerved them not: So " much I can ſay for both, that the Storm " hindred them from executing the Ad- " miral's Commands.

" This can be proved by thoſe that " were ſaved by accident, amongſt whom " is one of our Admirals, that eſcaped " out of a Ship which ſunk; and though " he wanted help himſelf, yet he is now " condemned by the ſame Suffrage with " thoſe that obeyed not their Orders. But " far be it from you (my Lords) to deal " with them for their Victory and good " Fortune, as if they had been vanquiſht, " and unſucceſsful. Don't miſtake that " fatal neceſſity, and call it Treaſon in " them, which was want of Power; for " the Storm diſabled them from per-

" forming

"forming what they were commanded.
"'Twill be greater Juſtice to honour
"them with Garlands, than to follow
"the advice of ill men, and put them
"to death.

When *Euriptolemus* had made an end, he brought in a Bill, that each of the Priſoners ſhould be tried ſeverally, according to the Statute of *Canonus*: but the Reſolve of the Senate was, that they ſhould be all tried by one Suffrage; when they put it to the Vote at firſt it was carried for *Euryptolemus* his Opinion, but *Menecles* entring his Proteſtation, and it being voted again, the Reſolve of the Senate was ratified. Upon this eight of the Admirals that engaged were condemned; whereof ſix that were at home ſuffered. Not long after the *Athenians* repented of what they had done, and decreed that thoſe who had abuſed the People, ſhould be proceeded againſt, and give bail to ſtand their Trial; and that *Callixenus* ſhould be one of theſe. Four others were likewiſe charged, and delivered up by their Bail. But afterwards they made their eſcape before Trial in the Riot, wherin *Cleophon* was killed; and *Callixenus* being generally hated was ſtarved to death,

in

in his [illegible] Return with the reſt from the *Piræus* to the City.

XENOPHON'S

XENOPHON'S History OF THE Affairs of Greece.

LIB. II.

THE CONTENTS.

Eteonicus *prevents the Conſpiracy of his Soldiers.* Lyſander *ſurprizes the* Athenian *Fleet at* Ægoſpotamos. Athens *beſieged, and taken by* Lyſander. *The thirty Tyrants ſet up.* Thraſybulus *expels them.*

THE Soldiers that were with *Eteonicus* in *Chius*, lived all Summer time upon the ripe Fruits; and wrought in the Countrey for Wages. But when

Winter came, and they had no Proviſions, but were naked and barefoot: they met together and deliberated about ſeizing *Chius*. Thoſe that liked the Deſign, determined to wear a Reed, that they might diſcern how ſtrong their Party was. *Eteonicus* when he heard of the Conſpiracy was at a ſtand, not knowing how to comport himſelf in this Affair, becauſe there was ſo great a number of * Reedmen. For it ſeemed dangerous to call them openly to an Account, leſt turning Enemies, aad taking up Arms, they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the City, and when they had prevailed, put all things in confuſion.

* Like our Green Ribband men.

Beſides he conſidered that it would be an horrid thing to deſtroy ſo many of the Confederates, that he ſhould thereby incur the Obloquy of the reſt of the *Greeks*, and render the Army diſaffected to the Service. Whereupon taking along with him fifteen men armed with Daggers, he walkt through the Town, and meeting with a man that had ſore eyes coming out of a Surgeon's Shop, he killed him. A diſturbance hap'ning upon't, and ſome asking for what the man was killed: *Eteonicus* commanded them to inform them, that it was for wearing a Reed. Whereupon

upon as ſoon as the Order was given out, all that wore Reeds threw them away; every one that heard it, fearing he ſhould not convey them away ſoon enough.

Afterwards *Eteonicus* aſſembled the *Chians*; and commanded them to raiſe money, that the Sea-men might receive their Wages, and be kept from engaging in any new Conſpiracy. When they had made a Contribution, he commanded his men on board, and going on board every Ship himſelf, encouraged and heartned them up, diſſembling the loſs the *Lacedemonians* had ſuſtained at *Arginuſæ*, and gave them a Months pay a man.

A while after the *Chians*, and the reſt of the Confederates aſſembled at *Epheſus*, and conſulted about ſending Ambaſſadors to *Lacedemon*, to give an account of the preſent Juncture of Affairs, and to deſire that *Lyſander* might be Admiral; who had gained great reputation amongſt the Confederates the laſt time he was Admiral, by the Victory he obtained in the Sea-fight at *Notium*. Accordingly there were Ambaſſadors diſpatcht, and Meſſengers from *Cyrus* in company with them, upon the ſame Errand. The *Lacedemonians* granted, that *Lyſander* ſhould be

Vice-Admiral, but appointed *Aracus* Admiral, for their Law does not allow that the ſame Perſon ſhould have that Command twice. The Fleet was delivered up to *Lyſander* at the end of the twenty ſixth Year of the War. The ſame Year *Cyrus* killed *Antobœſaces* and *Mitræus* the Sons of *Darius* his Siſter, Daughter to *Xerxes*, who was Father to *Darius*, for keeping their hands within their ſleeve, when they met him; which reſpect the *Perſians* pay to their King only. The ſleeve reaches ſomewhat below the hand, ſo that nobody can do any miſchief, whiles he keeps his hand within it. *Hieramenes* and his Wife repreſented to *Darius*, how horrid a thing it would be to connive at ſo great an Inſolency. Thereupon the King feigned himſelf ſick, and diſpatcht Meſſengers for *Cyrus* to come up to him.

Like the Cuſtom of being led in to the Grand Seignior.

XXVII. Year of the *Pelop.* War, *Alexius Archon.* When *Archylas* was *Ephorus*, and *Alexius Archon* at *Athens.*

The next Year *Lyſander* came to *Epheſus*, and ſent for *Eteonicus* with the Fleet from *Chius*, getting the reſt together from all Parts. He not only refitted theſe Ships, but built more at *Antandrus*, and went to demand money of *Cyrus*: who told him, that he had diſburſt all he had from the King with a great deal more, and ſhew'd him what every

ry Admiral had received, notwithſtanding he gave him ſome. *Lyſander* taking the mony appointed Captains of Gallies, and pay'd the Sea-men their Wages. In like manner the *Athenian* Admirals equipped their Fleet at *Samos*. About this time, *Cyrus*, upon the arrival of a Meſſenger from his Father, ſent for *Lyſander*, telling him, that his Father was ſick, and that he had commanded him to come to him, though he was marcht at that time to *Thamneria* in *Media* not far from the *Caduſii* that were Borderers, and had made a defection, being gone thither to reduce them.

When *Lyſander* came, *Cyrus* would not yield, that he ſhould fight the *Athenians* by Sea, unleſs he were much Superiour to them in Shipping, Telling him moreover that the King, and he, had money enough, to equip a powerful Fleet for ſuch a Deſign. Afterwards he conſigned him the Tribute of the Cities, that belonged to himſelf, and what money could be ſpared beſides, profeſſing withal the kindneſs he had for the *Lacedemonians*, but in particular for *Lyſander*, and ſo went up to his Father. When *Cyrus* had delivered him all his Concerns, and was entred on his Journey towards his ſick Father, that had ſent for him: *Lyſander*

paid off the Army and ſet ſail to *Ceramicus* a Bay in *Caria*. There he attackt a Town in League with the *Athenians* called *Cedrææ*: and the day after taking it by Storm, made Slaves of the Inhabitants, who were half *Barbarians*, and from thence he parted for *Rhodes*.

The *Athenians* ſetting out of *Samos*, harraſſed the King of *Perſia*'s Countrey, going alſo againſt *Chius*, and *Epheſus*: and when they had choſen *Menander*, *Tydeus*, and *Cephiſodotus*, beſides thoſe Admirals that were already in Commiſſion, they made preparations to meet the Enemy. In the mean while *Lyſander* ſailed from *Rhodes* along the Coaſt of *Ionia* to the *Helleſpont*, to obſerve what Ships came that way, and to go againſt thoſe Cities that had revolted. The *Athenians* ſtood more out to Sea towards *Chius*, becauſe *Aſia* was an Enemies Countrey. *Lyſander* parted from *Abydus* to *Lampſacus*, which was in league with the *Athenians*. When the *Abydenians*, and ſome other Forces under the Command of *Thorax* the *Lacedemonian*, came to him by Land; they attackt the Town, and took it by Storm, and the Soldiers had the plunder of it, being very rich and well ſtored with Corn and other Proviſions: but *Lyſander* diſmiſt

diſmiſt all the Freemen. The *Athenians* followed him directly, and put into Harbour at *Eleus* in the *Cherſoneſe*, with an hundred and eighty Sail of Ships: whilſt they were at Dinner News was brought them of *the loſs* of *Lampſacus*. Upon which they parted immediately for *Seſtos*, where they took in ſome Proviſions, and went from thence to *Ægoſpotamos*, over againſt *Lampſacus*, which is about fifteen Furlongs from the *Helleſpont*, and there they Supped.

The ſame Night towards Morning *Lyſander* made a Sign to the Soldiers to refreſh themſelves, and come on board. Then having made all neceſſary preparations for an Engagement; and cauſing the * Barricadoes to be ſet up, he commanded them to obſerve their poſture, and that none ſhould move out of their Line. As ſoon as the Sun was up, the *Athenians* ranged their Fleet in order before the Port, and faced the Enemy with a reſolution to engage. But when *Lyſander* came not out to them, and the day was far ſpent, they ſailed back again to *Ægoſpotamos*. Upon which *Lyſander* ordered out the nimbleſt Ships to follow the *Athenians*, to obſerve how they behaved themſelves, when they went aſhore, and

* Παρεξέλυματα, they are made of old Cables, we uſe them in our men of War to ſhelter the men from the Shot.

then to come back, and give him an Account: nor did he permit any of his men to go aſhore till theſe Ships returned.

This he did for four days together, during which time the *Athenians* continually bore up to him. *Alcibiades* when he viewed from his Caſtle the *Athenians* lying by the Shore, near no Town, fetching their Proviſions from *Seſtos*, that was fifteen Furlongs from the Fleet; but the Enemy in Port, and near a Town, from whence they were furniſht with all neceſſaries; went and informed them that they had but bad riding, and adviſed them to go to *Seſtos*, where they might have the accommodation both of an Harbour, and a Town. When you are there (ſaid he) you may fight the Enemy, when you think fit your ſelves. The Admirals (eſpecially *Tydeus* and *Menander*) bid him go about his buſineſs, for now they commanded, and not he; ſo he went his way. On the fifth day that the *Athenians* had thus conſtantly bore up with *Lyſander*, he commanded thoſe he had ordered to obſerve their Fleet, that when they diſcovered the Enemy gone aſhore, and ſtragled on the *Cherſoneſe* (which they contemning *Lyſander* for not coming out to engage them, did every day more

more and more, fetching their Proviſions a great way off) they ſhould return back to him, and hale up a Shield when they were half Seas over. They obeyed his Command. Then *Lyſander* having taken *Thorax* with the Land-Army on board, made a Sign to ſet Sail with all expedition.

As ſoon as *Conon* ſaw the Enemy bearing up with him, he made a Sign for his men to come on board, and ſuccour him with all poſſible diligence; but the men were ſo ſtragled, that ſome Ships had not above two Rowers, ſome one, ſome none at all. Only *Conon*'s with ſeven more and the *Paralus* being manned ſtood out to Sea; but all the reſt *Lyſander* took on ground.

Lyſander ſurpriſes the *Athenian* Fleet.

The *Athenians* aſhore got together in a Body, and threw themſelves into the Garriſons. *Conon* ſeeing the *Athenians* totally defeated, fled with nine Sail, and ſtood for *Abarnis*, a *Cape* of *Lampſacus*; and taking from thence the Main-ſails of *Lyſander*'s Ships, he went himſelf with eight Sail to *Evagoras* in *Cyprus*, but the *Paralus* parted for *Athens* with the News of what had paſſed. *Lyſander* carried to *Lampſacus* the Ships, Priſoners, and the reſt of the Spoil, together

gether with *Philocles* and *Adimantus* two Admirals that were his Priſoners. The day that the Action hapned he diſpatcht *Theopompus* the *Meletian* a Pirate to *Lacedemon* with an account of the Fight; who arrived there in three days. After this *Lyſander* called the Confederates together, and bid them Conſult what was to be done with the Priſoners. There were a great many Accuſations brought againſt the *Athenians*, for their former villainous Actions; for having determined to cut off every Priſoner's right hand, if they had gotten the Victory at Sea: and for throwing down a Precipice the men they had taken on board two Gallies, the one a *Corinthian*, the other an *Andrian*; being ſet on by the cruel advice of *Philocles*. Several other things alſo were alleged, and 'twas reſolved that all the Priſoners who were *Athenians* ſhould be put to death, except *Adimantus*; becauſe he only at the Council of War oppoſed the cutting off of hands, which was the reaſon that ſome accuſed him for betraying their Fleet. *Lyſander* asking *Philocles* that threw the *Andrians* and *Corinthians* down the Precipice, what he deſerved for being the Inventor of ſuch inhumanity againſt the *Greeks*, hackt him in pieces. When

When he had ſetled Affairs at *Lampſacus*, he went to *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*, where being received by the Townſmen within their Walls, he ſent away the *Athenian* Garriſon with Paſſes. At that time thoſe that betrayed *Byzantium* to *Alcibiades*, fled to *Pontus*, and from thence to *Athens*, where they were naturalized. *Lyſander*, when he ſaw any Soldiers of the *Athenian* Garriſons, or any *Athenian* beſides, ſent them all to *Athens*, giving Paſſes to thoſe that ſailed thither, and to no place elſe, concluding that the greater the Multitudes were that flockt to the City and *Piræus*, the ſooner they would want Proviſions. Therefore leaving *Sthenelaus* the *Lacedemonian* to be Governour of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*, he went to *Lampſacus*, and refitted his Fleet.

When the * *Paralus* arrived at *Athens* in the Night, upon the firſt report of the Calamity, the ſad News was conveyed by a continual Lamentation from the *Piræus*; up the Long Walls, on to the City, one informing another: So that Nobody ſlept that Night, not only bewailing thoſe that were ſlain, but their own condition a great deal more; reflecting, how they had treated the *Melians* a Colony of the

* A Ship for Sacred and Publick uſes, there were four others, *viz. Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, *Ammonis*, and *Deliaſ*, or *Salaminia*, *Caſtel. Syntag.*

the *Lacedemonians*, after they had beſieged, and taken them, as alſo the *Hiſtiæans*, * and ſeveral other *Greeks*. The day following they called a Council, and decreed, That all the Ports except one ſhould be choaked up, the Walls cleared, Guards ſet, and all things provided for the City to hold out a Siege.

* *Scioneans, Toroneans, Ægineans.*

And thus whiles the *Athenians* were employed about theſe Affairs, *Lyſander* came from the *Helleſpont* to *Lesbos* with two hundred Sail of Ships, and ſettled the Government at *Mitylene*, as he had done at other Towns, and ſent *Eteonicus* to the Coaſt of *Thrace* with ten Gallies, to reduce all the Towns there to the Obedience of the *Lacedemonians*. After the Sea-fight, the reſt of *Greece* deſerted the *Athenians*, except the *Samians*, who had murdered the Chief men, and poſſeſt themſelves of the Government. *Lyſander* ſent to acquaint *Agis*, and thoſe of *Decelea*, and *Lacedemon*, that he was coming with two hundred Sail of Ships. Whereupon the whole Multitude of the *Lacedemonians* and *Peloponneſians*, except the *Argives*, went out to receive him by order of *Pauſanias* the other King.

When they were all aſſembled, he marcht

marcht with them, and encamped near the City of *Athens* in the School called *Academia.* Then *Lyſander* going to *Ægina*, and getting as many of the People together as he could, reſtored them to their Countrey, as he alſo did the *Melians*, and others that had been baniſh't. After that he waſted *Salamis*, and came to an Anchor in the *Piræus* with an hundred and fifty Sail, hindring any Ships from coming into Port. The *Athenians* blockt up by Sea and Land; knew not what meaſures to take, being deſtitute of a Fleet, of Friends, and Proviſions; thinking it was now come to their turn to ſuffer the ills they had inflicted on the People of other Towns, which was not by way of revenge, but inſolency, and for no other cauſe, but that they had joyned with the *Lacedemonians.* Thereupon they advanced thoſe that had been diſgraced, and ſo held out the Siege, and though many were ſtarved to death, yet no mention was made of capitulating. At laſt their Proviſion being quite ſpent, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Agis*, to deſire an Alliance with the *Lacedemonians*, to reſerve themſelves the * Long-walls, and *Piræus*, and to make Peace upon theſe Conditions. He ordered the Ambaſſadors

* Long-walls joyned the Port and the City, which *Megara*, *Argos*, and other Cities had.

baſſadors to go to *Lacedemon*, becauſe he had no Power to *conclude a Peace*, and they informing the *Athenians* thereof, were diſpatcht thither, and went to *Sellaſia* near *Laconia*.

When the *Ephori* underſtood their Meſſage to be the ſame, that it was to *Agis*, they commanded them to depart immediately, and think of fairer Propoſals, if they really ſtood in need of a Peace. The Ambaſſadors returned home, and when they reported the News to the People there fell a Conſternation on all; for they thought of nothing leſs, but that the Survivers ſhould be made Slaves, and that whilſt other Ambaſſadors were paſſing to and fro, the reſt of them would be ſtarved. As for pulling down of the Walls, there was none would propoſe it. Becauſe *Archeſtratus* was committed for mentioning in the Senate, that it would be expedient to make a Peace with the *Lacedemonians* upon their own demands. Which were, that the Long-walls ſhould be demoliſhed on both ſides for ten furlongs; a Decree alſo was made forbidding any to move it hereafter.

In this Juncture, *Theramenes* declared in the Aſſembly, that if they would ſend him to *Lyſander*, he would diſcover whether

ther the *Lacedemonians*, by inſiſting on the demoliſhing of the Walls, deſigned to make them all Slaves, or only to oblige them to keep the Peace the better. After he was diſpatcht, he ſtay'd with *Lyſander* above three Months, expecting when the *Athenians* (now their Proviſions failing) would comply with any conditions. Four Months after he returned, and reported in the Aſſembly that *Lyſander* had detained him till that time, and now adviſed him to go to *Lacedemon*, becauſe it was not in his power to grant their demands, but the *Ephori's*. Upon that he was choſen one of the ten Plenipotentiaries to *Lacedemon*. *Lyſander* ſent *Ariſtotle* an *Athenian* Exile thither in Company of ſome *Lacedemonians* to inform them that he had made *Theramenes* this Anſwer, That the Power of War and Peace was veſted in the *Ephori*. When *Theramenes* and the other Ambaſſadors arrived at *Sellaſia*, 'twas demanded what Powers they had. They declared they had full inſtructions to treat of Peace. Then the *Ephori* ordered them to be introduced, and at their coming called an Aſſembly wherein the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* chiefly, with ſeveral other *Greeks*, oppoſed the making Peace with the *Athenians*, and

and urged their total Extirpation.

The *Lacedemonians* replied they would not deſtroy a *Greek* City, that had done ſo great Service to *Greece* in the moſt critical times; but made Peace with them on theſe Conditions; That the Long-walls and *Piræus* ſhould be demoliſhed, that they ſhould deliver up all their Ships but twelve, that they ſhould reſtore their Exiles, that they ſhould make a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the *Lacedemonians*, and ſerve them in all their Expeditions, both by Sea and Land. *Theramenes* and his Collegues brought theſe Articles of Peace to *Athens*; and when they came into Town a great Multitude flockt about them, fearing they returned without effect, though their neceſſity could admit of no delay, by reaſon abundance of People periſht with Famine. The day following the Ambaſſadors declared upon what terms the *Lacedemonians* would make Peace. *Theramenes* ſpoke the firſt, and adviſed them to comply with the *Lacedemonians*, and demoliſh the Long-walls. Whilſt it was debated, the major part approved it, and it was reſolved that the Peace ſhould be accepted. After that *Lyſander* came up the *Piræus*, the Exiles returned and the Walls were demoliſhed with

with great eagerneſs, the Muſick playing the while, and all imagined that the Liberty of *Greece* might be dated from that day. Thus ended the Year, about the middle of which *Dionyſius* the Son of *Hermocrates* uſurpt at *Syracuſe*: the *Syracuſians* having a little before vanquiſht the *Carthaginians* in a Battel; which latter took *Agrigentum* diſtreſt by Famine, and quitted by the *Sicilians*.

XCIV. *Olymp. Pythodorus Archon ſive Anarchia.*

In which *Crocinas* the *Theſſalian* wont he foot-race *Eudicus* was *Ephorus* of *Sparta*, and *Pythodorus Archon* of *Athens*; whom the *Athenians* don't reckon, but call this Year the *Anarchy*.

The next was the *Olympick* Year. The *Oligarchy* hap'ned after this manner: the People determined to chuſe Thirty men, that were to make Laws, and adminiſter the Government by them. Thoſe that were choſen were theſe *. *Lyſander* having ſetled Affairs in this manner, parted for *Samos*. *Agis* drawing the Land-Army out of *Decelea*, disbanded, and ſent them home. About this time, when the Sun was Eclipſt, *Lycophron* the *Pheræan* aſpiring to the Dominion of all *Theſſaly*, overcame the *Lariſſeans*, and other *Theſſalians* that oppoſed his Deſigns in a ſet Battle, and

* *Poliarches, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclides, Hiero, Mneſilochus, Chremo, Theramenes, Areſias, Diocles, Phædria, Chœrelaus, Auætius, Piſo, Sophocles, Eratoſthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, Theognis, Æ chines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Eraſiſtratus, Phido, Dracontides, Eumathes, Ariſtoteles, Hippomachus, Mneſithides.*

made a great Slaughter. At that time alſo *Dionyſius* the Tyrant of *Syracuſe* being overthrown by the *Carthaginians* loſt *Gela*, and *Camarina*. Soon after the *Leontini* that liv'd at *Syracuſe* revolting from *Dyoniſius*, and the *Syracuſians* returned to their own City, and immediately the *Syracuſians* ſent the Horſe under the Command of *Dionyſius* as far as *Catana* in purſuit of them.

The *Samians* being cloſely blockt up by *Lyſander*, went then firſt to conſult of a Surrender, when he was going to give the Aſſault, and agreed upon theſe Conditions, That every Freeman ſhould depart with a ſingle Coat, but that they ſhould deliver every thing elſe, and ſo they marcht out. *Lyſander* reſtored the Town, and all that was in it, to the old Inhabitants, appointing ten Magiſtrates to be Governours, and ſent home all the Confederates Ships to their reſpective Cities. After that he ſailed with his *Spartans* to *Lacedemon*, and carried with him the * Antients of the taken Ships, all the Gallies out of the *Piræus* except twelve, the Crowns that were preſented him upon his own particular account by the Cities, † 470 Talents of Silver, that remained of the Tribute which *Cyrus* had conſigned him for the War,

* *Scheffer* calls them Colours and not Stems.

† 88125 *l.*

War, and whatever Spoils he had taken beſide. All theſe he delivered to the *Lacedemonians* at the end of Summer, in the twenty eighth Year and ſixt Month of the War.

When the War ended alſo. In which there were counted theſe *Ephori*: Firſt, *Æneſias*, in whoſe time the War began, which was the fifteenth of the thirty years truce made after the Conqueſt of *Eubœa*. To him ſucceeded *Braſidas*, *Iſanor*, *Soſtratidas*, *Exarchus*, *Ageſiſtratus*, *Angenidas*, *Onomacles*, *Xeuxippus*, *Pityas*, *Pliſtolas*, *Clinomachus*, *Ilarchus*, *Leo*, *Chærilas*, *Pateſiadas*, *Cleoſthenes*, *Lycarius*, *Eperatus*, *Onomantius*, *Alexippidas*, *Miſgolaidas*, *Iſias*, *Arasus*, *Evarchippus*, *Pantacles*, *Pityas*, *Archytas*, *Eudicus*. In whoſe time *Lyſander* atchieved the forementioned Exploits, and returned home.

The Thirty were nominated immediately upon demoliſhing the Long-walls and *Piræus*, being choſen to make Laws for the New Government, which they ſtill deferr'd either to collect or publiſh, appointing a Senate and Magiſtracy after their own humour. At firſt they ſeized, and put to death all thoſe that they knew lived upon Evidencing in time of the Democracy, and ſuch as were troubleſome to honeſt and good men. The Senate condemned theſe with ſome ſatisfaction, and every one that knew himſelf to be clear of theſe Crimes was not in the leaſt concerned at it. Afterwards they conſulted how they might ſet up an Arbitrary Government, and diſpatcht *Æſchines* and *Ariſtotle* to *Lacedemon*, to pre-

Ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας.

vail with *Lyſander*, that he would uſe his Intereſt to procure them a Guard, till ſuch time as they had cleared the City of ill affected Perſons, and ſetled the Governments, promiſing to maintain them at their own charge. He conſented and ſent them a Garriſon, under the Command of *Callibius* the Governour. When they received them they paid *Callibius* all the reſpect imaginable, that ſo he might approve of all their Proceedings. When *Lyſander* had procured them a Guard, they no longer took up Rogues, and pitiful Fellows, but ſuch alſo, as they thought would not bear their Oppreſſion, or that would endeavour to obviate their Deſigns, and thoſe that were likely to head the Multitude.

Formerly *Critias* and *Theramenes* maintained a ſtrict correſpondency and friendſhip; but when the firſt (having been baniſht by the People) began to thirſt after blood; *Theramenes* oppoſed him, declaring it was not fit, that any ſhould be put to death, for being eſteemed by the People, provided they had never injured men of worth and honeſty. For you and I (ſaid he) were wont both by our Words and Actions to ingratiate with the People. But *Critias* (though he was very

ry intimate with *Theramenes*, till this time) did now diſcover himſelf to be of a contrary Opinion, ſaying, Thoſe that contended for a Superiority over others, muſt of neceſſity remove ſuch, as were the greateſt Obſtacles in their way. If you therefore think (ſaid he) becauſe we are not one, but Thirty, that for this reaſon we ought to be leſs ſollicitous for the preſervation of this Model, than a Single Perſon would be for a Monarchy, you are a Fool. When ſeveral were arbitrarily put to death; many were obſerved to meet together, diſcourſing and wondering what kind of Government they were likely to have: *Theramenes* told them that unleſs they took a more competent number into their Society, the Ariſtocracy could not ſtand.

Τυραννὶς, not always in a bad ſenſe.

Thereupon *Critias* and the reſt of the Thirty, being jealous of *Theramenes*, leſt he ſhould become popular; choſe three thouſand to participate of the Government. Then *Theramenes* declared he thought they committed an abſurdity; for whereas they deſigned at firſt to admit only the beſt men to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, they had now choſen three thouſand, as if the whole number muſt needs be men of Worth and Integrity, and

none beſide; or as if no ill men could be amongſt them. *I ſee* (ſaid he) *ye act two things which are inconſiſtent; for ye ſet up an Arbitrary Government, and that Arbitrary Government is not able to defend it ſelf againſt the Power of the Subject.* Thus he.

The reſt of the Thirty muſtering the three thouſand in the Market, and thoſe that were not of that number in another place, they commanded them to arm themſelves. In the mean while, they went away, and ſent the Garriſon with thoſe Citizens that were of their Party to diſarm all but the three thouſand; who, *taking away their Arms*, carried them into the Citadel, and laid them up in the Temple there.

* Our Sheriffs lock up the Houſes of a Perſon commitred for Treaſon, and ſecure the Goods till the trial be over, when they are to be reſtored to the Owner if cleared, elſe to the King, *vide Salm. de uſuris.*

After this, they, as if they had obtained a Licence of doing what they liſted, put ſome to death out of malice, and others for their money; reſolving to ſeize all the Aliens, * to ſeal up their Goods, and to murder them, that they might procure money thereby to pay their Garriſon. They alſo encouraged *Theramenes* to ſeize what Forreigner he pleaſed; but he replied, That he thought it baſe for them which profeſt themſelves the beſt of men, to act worſe than Sycophants.

For

For theſe if they can ſcrew money out of any, let them live; but we take away the lives of the Innocent, and their money too. And will not then theſe Actions of ours, appear worſe than any of theirs? They ſuſpecting *Theramenes* would be an Obſtacle in their way, and obviate their Arbitrary Proceedings, conſpired againſt him: the Senators alſo traduced him privately amongſt themſelves, as one that would ſubvert the Government. They therefore calling a Senate commanded ſome Soldiers, whom they thought the moſt deſperate to be ready with daggers under their Arms; and when *Theramenes* came amongſt them, *Critias* ſtood up and ſpake. *If any* (my Lords) *think we have put too many to death for the ſhortneſs of the time, let that man conſider, that theſe things always happen, where alterations of Government are made. Our City is the moſt populous of any in* Greece, *and has for a long time been* * *pampered with Liberty: So that we, who have changed the Government to an Ariſtocracy, muſt expect a great many Enemies. We therefore conſidering what a Grievance Democracy is to us all; and knowing though the Nobility will remain faithful, that the People will never be reconciled to the* Critias's Oration.

* Τετράφαται.

Lacedemonians, *to whom we owe our Preſervation, have with their Conſent conſtituted this New Model. And we employ our utmoſt endeavour to take thoſe off, that we find make oppoſition againſt it; but if any of our own Order attempt to alter the Conſtitution, 'tis much more equitable that that man ſhould ſuffer.*

We have obſerved that this Theramenes, *makes it his buſineſs to contrive our ruine, which you will find to be true, if you take notice, that none diſcourſes more freely againſt the times than he; and that none makes ſtronger oppoſition, when we conſult about taking off any Popular man, than he. If theſe had been his Sentiments at firſt, we could not in reaſon have reputed him an ill man, but a profeſt Enemy. He promoted the League, and Alliance between us, and the* Lacedemonians. *He diſſolved the Democracy. He inſtigated us chiefly to do juſtice on thoſe Criminals, that came firſt before us. And now ſince we are all become odious to the People; he will no longer approve of our Proceedings, thereby to ſecure himſelf, and render us obnoxious for what is paſt. He therefore ought in Juſtice to be puniſht, not only as an Enemy, but as a Traytor againſt us.* Treaſon is by ſo much a greater miſchief

chief than War, by how much 'tis more difficult to avoid a ſecret practiſe, than a barefaced Deſign. And 'tis yet more execrable, becauſe an Enemy makes Peace, and keeps his Faith; but we can ne'r be reconciled to him, that we once find a Traytor; and can never truſt him for the future.

I will now remind you of his former Actions, that you may underſtand they are habitual, and that he has *Treaſon *in his nature. He, though he was at firſt the People's Creature, as his Father* Hagno *had been, yet appeared the moſt forward of any, in transferring the Democracy to the* †*four hundred, and was the leading man amongſt them. But afterwards when he diſcovered a Conſpiracy to be forming againſt the Ariſtocracy, he headed the People againſt it. Whereupon he was nicknamed the* Buskin; *for as that fits either Foot, ſo he accommodated himſelf to both Parties. That man* (Theramenes) *is not fit to live, that ſhews his Craft in drawing his Friends into Plots, and then leaves them in the lurch, when he finds any oppoſition: but he that is like the Seamen, who labour hard in a Storm, and beat it out till they come into fair weather. For otherwiſe how can they arrive at their deſired*

* Φύσει προδότης.

† The Government of *Athens.*

ſired Port, if when they meet with any difficulty, they bend their courſe a different way?

All changes of Government are attended with blood: and you (Theramenes) *by your inconſtancy have cauſed ſeveral of the Ariſtocracy to be deſtroyed by the People; and many of the Democracy to be cut off by the Nobles. This is he, whom the Admirals ordered to take up the ſinking men, in the Sea-fight near* Lesbos, *but though he did not take them up, yet he to ſave himſelf, proſecuted the Admirals, and cauſed them to be put to death. Why ſhould we ſpare ſuch a man, that only purſues his own Intereſt without regard either of honeſty or friendſhip? Nay rather let us beware of his inconſtancy, ſince we know it, and be before hand with him, that he may not ſerve us, as he has all his Friends. We therefore impeach him as a Conſpirator and Traytor againſt his Countrey. Be pleaſed alſo to conſider, that we do nothing contrary to Law or Juſtice. The* Lacedemonians *Conſtitution is eſteemed the beſt in the World: yet if any of the* Ephori *ſhould not comply with his Collegues, but oppoſe their Proceedings, and ſpeak ill of the Government: Don't you think that the reſt of them, and all the*

States

States would not ſentence him to undergo the utmoſt rigor of the Law. If you therefore have any regard to your own preſervation, don't ye ſpare this man, but ſpare your ſelves, for if he eſcapes the Sword of Juſtice, he'll raiſe the Faction to a great height: And on the contrary if he be taken off, he will defeat their hopes, both at home, and abroad.

When *Critias* had ended his Speech, he ſat down; and then *Theramenes* ſtanding up, ſpoke as following. *And I* (my Lords) *will anſwer in the beginning of my Defence, what was laſt objected. He ſays, that I proſecuted the Generals, and cauſed them to be put to death. Whereas I did not ſet on foot the Accuſations againſt them: but they declared that they gave me Orders to take up thoſe unfortunate men in the Sea-fight near* Lesbos. *To which I made my defence, that it was not poſſible to bear up to them, for the violence of the Storm, much leſs to take them up; and this the People thought a reaſonable defence. The Admirals ſeemed to accuſe themſelves; for they declared that when they could have ſaved the men, they ſtood off, and let them periſh. I don't wonder that* Critias *objects this againſt me contrary to Law, who was not preſent at the Action,*

Theramenes his Speech.

on, but with Prometheus *in* Theſſaly, *forming a Democracy, and arming the* * *Slaves againſt their Maſters. Nor may that ever be acted here what he did in that Place!*

* Περίοικοι, a peculiar name amongſt the *Theſſalians* for Slaves, as Εἵλωτες was amongſt the *Lacedemonians.*

I agree with him ſo far; that if any endeavour to depoſe you from the Government, & ſupport the Conſpirators; that man in juſtice ought to ſuffer the utmoſt rigor of the Law. And you will beſt determine, who does theſe things, if you reflect on the former, and the preſent Actions of us both. Whilſt you were nominating a Senate, chuſing Magiſtrates, and puniſhing the Evidencers, we were all of one mind. But ſince (I ſee) *men of Worth and Honeſty taken up; I have changed my Opinion. I knew if we took off* Leo *the* Salaminian, *who both appeared, and was a good man, and no ways obnoxious to the Law, that men of the like Probity would become apprehenſive of us, and when poſſeſt with a fear, would ſet themſelves againſt the Government.*

Συκοφάντας.

I apprehended that if you committed Nicias *Son of* Niceratus *a wealthy man, who neither himſelf, nor his Father, ever favoured a Democracy, that you would thereby contract the* Odium *of their Party. Moreover, when I ſaw you put* Antipho

pho *to death, who furniſht out two Gallies in time of War, that were good Sailors: I conceived you would create a jealouſie in thoſe that were ready to ſerve their Country. When it was declared lawful for every one of us to ſeize any Forreigner,* and take his Eſtate, *I oppoſed it: for 'twas evident, that if theſe had been deſtroyed, all Forreigners would have been Enemies to our Country. I contradicted the diſarming of the People, not thinking it our Intereſt to weaken the City thereby: for I thought the* Lacedemonians *did not intend when they preſerved us, that we ſhould be diſabled and rendered uncapable of doing them any Service. Becauſe if this had been their aim, they might have preſt us a little longer with want of Proviſions, and left never a man alive. Nor did I approve of hiring of a Guard, when we might have employed our own People, till ſuch time as we the Magiſtrates had reduc'd the Subjects under our Obedience. For when I ſaw there was a great Number of Malecontents in the City, and many Exiles abroad: I would have had neither* Anytus, *nor* Alcibiades, *nor* Thraſybulus *baniſht, knowing the People would be reinforc't when they got ſuch experienced Leaders; and that enough would joyn with any, that would but head them.*

Can

Can you in Juſtice therefore call him a Friend, or Traytor, that deals thus plainly with you? Thoſe (Critias) *don't reinforce the Enemy, that prevent the Malice of ſome, and by their advice procure the Alliance of others: but they rather that extort money by violence, and put the innocent to death: Theſe* (Critias) *are ſuch as create a great many Enemies, and betray not only their Friends, but themſelves alſo, for ſordid gain. Now if I can't convince you of the truth of what I ſpeak any other way, then conſider, whether in your Opinion* Thraſybulus, Anytus, *and the other Exiles had rather thoſe things, which I have mentioned, ſhould be done here, or what theſe men do? I believe they think they have Friends in all Places; yet if thoſe of the Chiefeſt Quality were faithful to us, they would not dare to ſet a foot upon* Athenian *Ground. As to what he objected concerning my unconſtancy, as though I would comply with every Change. I deſire you would obſerve, that the People themſelves did vote the Government of four hundred, being informed that the* Lacedemonians *would truſt any Model, rather than a Democracy. But when they would remit nothing* of their rigor, *and the Generals,* Ariſtotle, Melanthius, *and* Ariſtarchus

ſtarchus *openly fortified a place with a Bulwark, intending to receive the Enemy into it, and ſo to have maſtered the City for themſelves, and Party: This I diſcovered and prevented. Do they call this betraying the Government? He calls me* Buskin, *as though I had accommodated my ſelf to both Parties; Pray! What do you call him that can pleaſe neither? For you* (Critias) *were moſt inveterate againſt the People in time of the Democracy; and you were the ſtiffeſt Oppoſer of the Nobles under the Ariſtocracy. I* (Critias) *am a declared Enemy to thoſe, who won't allow that the Democracy can e'r be well eſtabliſht except Slaves, and ſuch like, be made Members of it for a ſingle groat, and would ſell it as cheap as they bought it. I am alſo an eternal Enemy to thoſe who are of a Belief that the Ariſtocracy can't be well ſetled, unleſs the Government be reduced under the Tyranny of a few. I concluded formerly that the other Model was the beſt, becauſe there were thoſe that would have ventured Life and Limb in defence of it: I am ſtill* (and unconſtant as he calls me) *of the ſame Opinion. If you* (Critias) *can ſay that I have endeavoured to remove men of Probity from the Government, either by joyning the Popular,*

or

or Tyrannical Faction, ſpeak out; and if you can convict me, that either I have attempted it now, or at any other time; I'll acknowledge that I deſerve the worſt of puniſhments. When he had made an end, the Senate murmured in favor of him, But *Critias* knowing that he would come off, if he permitted the Senate to paſs their Suffrage on him, and thinking, that there would be no living for himſelf, went and diſcourſt it with the Thirty, and going out, placed the Guard with their Daggers openly before the Bar of the Court. And then coming in again, ſaid. *He, Noble Snators, performs the Office of a good Patrone, that will not ſuffer his Clients to be circumvented, if he can help it; and I'll diſcharge my ſelf like ſuch an one. They that ſtand here ſay, they will not permit us, to let that man eſcape, who openly endeavours to ſubvert the Ariſtocracy. The new Laws ſay, that none of the three Thouſand ſhall be put to death, without your Suffrage, and that the Thirty have power to condemn any that are not of that number: Therefore* (ſaid he) *I with your General Conſent ſtrike this* Theramenes *out of the Catalogue; and we all paſs the Sentence of Death upon him. Theramenes* hearing this, flew

Critias's Speech.

flew to the Altar, and ſpake. *I humbly beg of you* (my Lords) *to grant me this moſt equitable Requeſt, that* Critias *mayn't have power to ſtrike me, or any of you out of the Catalogue, as he ſhall pleaſe; but that all of us may be tried by the Law which was made concerning thoſe in the Catalogue. And though I know the Altar can't protect me, yet I'll declare the Injuſtice of theſe men to the World, and their Impiety to Heaven. I wonder that you being men of Probity, won't defend the Common Cauſe, when you know 'tis as eaſie a matter to ſtrike out any of your Names, as it is mine.* Upon this the Thirty men's Cryer commanded the Eleven men to ſieze *Theramenes*, who coming with their Officers headed by *Satyrus* an importunate, and brazen faced Fellow: *Critias* ſaid to them, we deliver up this man *Theramenes* condemned according to Law. Ye Eleven men take him, carry him to the place of Execution, and do your Office. At that word *Satyrus*, and the Officers haled him from the Altar. *Theramenes* (as 'tis uſual in thoſe Caſes) implored both Gods and men to behold theſe their Actions. But the Senate were huſht, ſeeing ſuch Fellows as *Satyrus* at the Bar, and the place *Theramenes* Speech.

before the Court full of Guards, whom they knew to be armed with Daggers. When *Theramenes* was carried through the Market-place, he declared his Sufferings with a loud Voice; and one saying of his goes about still, how *Satyrus* threatned him, that if he held not his bawling, he should smart for't. Shall I not suffer then (replied he) if I hold my Tongue? At length being compelled to die by drinking Juice of Hemlock, he, as the report goes, dasht the rest on the Ground, adding, Here's an Health to honest *Critias*. And though I know these sayings of his are not worth relating, yet this deserves admiration, that he at the very point of death, neither lost his innate Prudence, nor Facetiousness. Thus died *Theramenes*.

2. Year of *Olymp. Euclides Archon.*

3. Of the *Olymp. Micion Archon.*

The Thirty thinking they might act now as they pleased, without Controul, forbad all that were not in the Catalogue to come within the City; removing them from their Estates, that so they and their Creatures might take possession of them: and when they fled to the *Piræus*, the Thirty forced them from thence in great Numbers, so that *Megara*, and *Thebes* were filled with them.

Soon after *Thrasybulus* marcht out of *Thebes*

Thebes with near ſeventy men, and ſurpriſed *Phyla* a ſtrong Place. The Thirty and the three thouſand went out of the City with the Horſe, on a very fair day to relieve it. Upon their arrival ſome of the moſt daring Soldiers attackt the Place, where * meeting with nothing but blows, they marcht off. The Thirty intended to beſiege them, and hoped to carry the Place by cutting off all their Proviſions, but there fell abundance of Snow in the Night, ſo that next day they returned to *Athens* † well beaten with Snow, and with the loſs of a great many ‖ Drudges, that were intercepted by thoſe of *Phyla*. Yet apprehending that the Gariſon would plunder the Countrey, unleſs there were Guards to repreſs them, they ſent the greateſt part of the *Lacedemonians*, and two Troops of Horſe to the Frontiers about fifteen Furlongs from *Phyla*, where they encamped in a woody place, and kept Guard.

4. *Olymp. Exænetus Archon.*

* Τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες.

† Νιφόμενοι.

‖ Σκευοφόροι.

Thraſybulus having by this time got together about ſeven hundred men at *Phyla*, went out with them by Night, and making an halt about three or four Furlongs from the Enemie's Quarters, lay ſtill. At break of day, when the Enemy had left their Arms, being gone about

their occaſions, and the Grooms made a noiſe with carrying their Horſes: *Thraſybulus*'s men took up their Arms, and fell furiouſly upon them, taking ſome, routing the reſt, and purſuing them ſix or ſeven Furlongs together. There were ſlain of the Heavy-armed men above an hundred and twenty; of the Horſe *Nicoſtratus* ſurnamed the Fair, and two whom they ſurpriſed in their Beds. In their return they erected a Trophy, and getting all the Arms, and Baggage together, they retired with their Booty to *Phyla*. The Horſe came out of *Athens* to their relief; But not one of the Enemy appearing, they ſtaid till the Relations of the ſlain had taken them up, and then returned to the City again. From this time, the Thirty not thinking their Government ſecure, deſigned to ſeize upon *Eleuſis*, that it might ſerve them for a Place of Retreat, if occaſion were. Hereupon *Critias*, and the Thirty marcht into *Eleuſis*; where the Horſe muſtered the Citizens (pretending they would know how many they were, and how ſtrong a Garriſon, the Place would require) and ordered a Liſt of their Names to be taken. He that was muſtered went out at a little Gate leading to the Sea-

ſide;

ſide; where by the Shore they had poſted Troopers and Serjeants, that bound every man as he came forth. When they were all taken, the Thirty ordered *Lyſimachus* Colonel of the Horſe to carry and deliver them up to the Eleven men. The next day they called the Heavy-armed men that were of the * Catalogue, and the reſt of the Horſe into the *Odeum*. Where *Critias* ſtood up, and ſpoke. *We* (ſaid he) *have conſtituted this Government as much for your Intereſt, as our own, and you muſt therefore as well partake of the Dangers as ſhare in the Honors. The* Eleuſinians *we have got together, you muſt put to death, that all of us may be under the ſame circumſtances both of Hope and Fear.* Then pointing to a certain place, he commanded them to paſs their Suffrages in it † openly. In the mean while the *Laconian* Guards were armed, and took up half the || *Odeum*. Theſe Proceedings pleaſed only ſuch as cared for their own Intereſt. Soon after *Thraſybulus* having got a Body of near one thouſand men at *Phyla*, came by Night to the *Piræus*. When the Thirty heard of it, they came to the Relief of their own Party, with the *Laconian* Guards, the Horſe and Heavy-armed men; and

* The 3000.

† As by holding up of the hand: for ſometimes they put Stones into an Urn that nobody could be diſcovered for what he voted. So that this laſt is oppoſed to the former.

|| The Muſick room.

and marcht in the Highway that leads to the *Piræus*. Thoſe of *Phyla* hindred them at firſt from advancing, but the Place appearing to be of a large Circuit, and to require a great Gariſon, whereas they as yet were but a ſmall Party, they retired in a cloſe Body to the *Munichia*: then thoſe of the City went into the Horſe-Market marſhalling their men, ſo as to cover the way that leads to the Temple of *Diana Munichia*, and the *Bendideum*, being no leſs than fifty Deep, and in this Order they advanced. They of *Phyla* drew up in the Road againſt them, but were not above Ten Heavy-armed men in depth: in the Rear of theſe were placed the Targetiers and the Light-armed Darters, ſupported by a good Body of Slingers that had reſorted thither. In the mean time *Thraſybulus* laying down his Shield, and commanding his men to do the like, ſtood in the midſt of his Squadron with his other Arms, and made this Speech. *I will partly inform you* (Dear Countreymen) *and partly remind you, that the Enemy which charge us in the right are thoſe that you routed five days agone; and that they in the Rear of the left are the Thirty Tyrants that have unjuſtly baniſht us, turned*

Thraſybulus's Speech.

us

us out of our Habitations, and proſcribed our deareſt Friends. Now they are come into this Place, which we always wiſhed, and they themſelves ne'r expected. Here we face them with our Swords in our hands: the Gods alſo appear openly in our Defence, becauſe we were taken from our Tables, from out of our Beds, and from off the Market-place; ſome of us had committed no Offence, and others that were abroad, were baniſht. The Gods when it ſerved our advantage, declared themſelves for us, and ſent on a ſuddain a Storm in Calm-weather; and by their aſſiſtance though the Enemy were a Multitude, and we but an handful, yet we fought them, and erected a Trophy. Now their Providence has brought us into a Place, where the Enemy are obliged to march up Hill, ſo that they cannot ſhoot, nor dart their Javelins over their formoſt Ranks. On the contrary we can reach them with our Pikes, our Javelins and Stones, that we throw down the Hill, and wound a great many of them; though it was believed that we, eſpecially our firſt Rank, muſt have engaged them upon even Ground. Now therefore if you, as becomes your ſelves, will couragiouſly dart your Javelins, you cannot miſs, for the Road is covered with them; and if they

ſtand upon their Guard, they muſt always skulk under their Shields, ſo that we as it were engaging with Blindmen, ſhall at our pleaſure wound them, fly upon them, and rout them. But (Dear Countreymen and Fellow-Soldiers) *every man of you muſt acquit himſelf, as if he were ſenſible that he alone ſhould be the cauſe of the Victory. A Victory, that* (by the favour of Heaven) *ſhall reſtore our Countrey, Habitations, Liberty, Preferments, Wives, and Children to thoſe that have them. Happy are thoſe amongſt us that ſhall live to ſee this Victory, to behold the moſt joyful day that ever was. Happy! the man that falls, for none how wealthy ſoever can obtain ſo glorious a Monument. As ſoon as it is time. I'll begin the* Pæan, *and when we invoke* Mars, *let us go with a joynt Reſolution to revenge on our Enemies the Inſolencies we have ſuffered from them.* Having ended his Speech he faced about to the Enemy, but moved not forward, becauſe the Prieſt had charged them not to fall on, before one of their men were either killed or wounded. When this happens, I'll lead you on (*ſaid the Prieſt*) and you ſhall obtain the Victory, though perhaps I ſhall be ſlain. Nor was he miſtaken, for as ſoon as the Army had taken

up

up their Shields, he as it were hurried on by a certain fatality, flew out one of the formoſt; where charging the Enemy he was killed, and afterwards buried by the Ferry over the *Cephiſſus*. The reſt got the Victory, and purſued the Enemy down the Hill to the plain Ground. There were ſlain of the Thirty *Critias* and *Hippomachus*, of the Ten Commanders in the *Piræus Charmides* the Son of *Glauco*, and about ſeventy others. They ſtripped none of their Countreymen, but took away their Arms only, and afterwards reſtored their Bodies upon truce. Then ſeveral drawing near together, began a Parly, and Silence being made, *Cleocritus* Cryer of the *Myſtæ*, having a ſtrong voice, made this Speech to them. *Why* (Dear Countreymen) *do you baniſh us? Why do you thirſt after our Blood? we never did injure you, we have all frequented the ſame Magnificent Temples, the Sumptuous Feaſts, and Splendid Sacrifices: We have performed the ſame Exerciſes, we have had our Education together, we have ſerved under the ſame Generals, and we have expoſed our ſelves to many dangers with you, both by Sea and Land, for our common Preſervation and Liberty. We beſeech you by the Gods*

Myſtæ thoſe that were Initiated the firſt year, they afterwards being called ἐπόπται & Ἔφοροι, *Suidas*.

Cleocritus's Speech.

Gods of your Fathers and Mothers, by your Friends, Kindred, and Relations (by ſome of which we are all allied to one another) *to revere Heaven, and have regard to man. Forbear any longer to perſecute your Countreymen, and don't ſubmit to thoſe Villains, the Thirty Tyrants, who for their private gain have murdered almoſt more in eight Months time, than the* Peloponneſian *War has conſumed in ten Years ſpace. When we might have lived peaceably together, they raiſed amongſt us, a moſt ſhameful, cruel, and deteſtable War, hateful both to Gods and men. And aſſure your ſelves, not only you, but we alſo ſhall lament thoſe we have lately ſlain.* After he had ended his Speech, the Magiſtrates having heard what he ſaid, retired with their men into the City. Next Day the Thirty appeared much dejected, and ſat alone in Council; the three thouſand alſo whereſoever they were poſted fell at variance. Thoſe that had been the moſt violent men and apprehended they ſhould be brought into trouble, declared they ought to perſiſt, and not comply with thoſe in the *Piræus*. But as many as knew themſelves to be Innocent became more conſiderative, ſhewing that their troubles might be compoſed; that they were

were not obliged to obey the Thirty, nor ſuffer their Countrey to be ruined. In concluſion it was decreed that the Thirty ſhould be removed from the Government, and others choſen. Accordingly there were Ten Elected, one out of each Tribe; Upon this the Thirty retired to *Eleuſis*.

The Ten with the Colonels of Horſe had care of the City, which was in great diſorder, every one being jealous one of another. The Cavalry lay all Night with their Horſes and Shields in the *Odeum*; and in the Evening, having a ſuſpicion of all, they went the Rounds with their Bucklers. In the Morning they mounted, expecting to be attackt by thoſe in the *Piræus*, where there was abundance of men of all ſorts, making themſelves Arms of Wood and Oſiers, and whiting them over. Before ten days were at an end they of the *Piræus* gave their Faith to all that would joyn them, as alſo equal Priviledges to Aliens: whereupon ſeveral Heavy and Light armed men with about ſeventy Horſe came over to them: from the *Piræus* they made Excurſions to get Wood and Fruit, but quartered every Night there. Of thoſe in the City none went out armed except the Horſe, who ſometimes

times meeting with the Forragers of the *Piræus*, did their Battalion ſome miſchief. Another time they met with ſome Young men, who did not belong to the City, but were going to fetch ſome Neceſſaries from their Eſtates; theſe *Lyſimachus* Colonel of the Horſe, put to the Sword, though they begged hard for their lives; which ſome of his Cavalry reſented very ill. In return, the Horſe of the *Piræus* took *Calliſtratus*, one of the Tribe of *Leontis* in the Country, and killed him, being ſo much animated that they made their Excurſions up to the very Walls of the City.

There was at that time an Ingenier in *Athens* (if this be worth relating) who apprehending that the Enemy were bringing their Engines to the Courſe, by the way that leads from the *Lyceum*, ordered huge Stones of a Load weight to be carried in Draughts, and thrown down in ſeveral places in the Courſe, which was accordingly done, and each Stone created the Enemy a great deal of Trouble. Then the Thirty and thoſe of the Catalogue in the City ſent Ambaſſadors from *Eleuſis* to *Lacedemon*, deſiring Succors becauſe the People had revolted from the *Lacedemonians*. *Lyſander* ſuppoſing it would be no

Where they run races.

no great difficulty to reduce thoſe in the *Piræus*, if they were blockt up by Sea and Land, and their Proviſions cut off, procured an hundred Talents to be lent them, himſelf to go General, and his Brother *Libys* Admiral. 18750 *l. Sterling.*

Then ſetting forward towards *Eleuſis*, he raiſed a ſtrong Body of *Peloponneſian* Heavy-armed men; whilſt the Admiral took care that no Proviſions could be carried in by Sea; whereby thoſe in the *Piræus* were ſoon diſtreſſed. On the contrary thoſe in the City were much animated at the preſence of *Lyſander*. Whilſt Affairs ſtood thus, *Pauſanias* the King envying *Lyſander*, for that he by thoſe Exploits would both become famous, and render himſelf Lord of *Athens*, perſwaded three of the *Ephori* to draw out the Garriſon. All the Confederates, except the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, concurred with him; which laſt declared that they could not ſalve their Oath by making War againſt the *Athenians*, who had acted nothing contrary to the League. Which they did out of a Belief that the *Lacedemonians* would reduce the *Athenians* Countrey into the Form of a Province.

Pauſanias had his Camp on the Right in a Place called *Halipedum*, and *Lyſander*

der with the *Mercenaries* on the left. *Pauſanias* ſent a Meſſage to thoſe in the *Piræus*, commanding them to depart to their reſpective homes, but they regarded him not. So he made an attack to ſtop the *Lacedemonians* Mouths, leſt he ſhould ſeem to favour the Enemy. After the Aſſault he drew off without having effected any thing; and taking with him two Battalions of *Lacedemonians*, with three Troops of *Athenian* Horſe, he marcht to Port *Cophus* to view where he might open his Trenches againſt the *Piræus*, with the greateſt conveniency. As he retired, ſome fell upon his Rear, and created him ſome trouble which provoked him to that degree, that he commanded his Horſe to charge with full ſpeed, as alſo thoſe that were ten years paſt man's eſtate to ſecond them, and followed with the reſt himſelf. They killed about thirty Light-armed men, and received the reſt into the Theater in the *Piræus*, where all the Targetiers and Heavy-armed men were arming themſelves; whereupon the Light-armed men inſtantly ſallied out, darting their Javelins, throwing, ſhooting, and ſlinging. The *Lacedemonians* having ſeveral of their men wounded, and being preſt hard retreated

treated gently; upon that the Enemy followed them the closer: There were killed *Chœro* and *Thibrachus* both Colonels, with *Leucrates* that had won the *Prize in the *Olympick* Games, and others of the *Lacedemonians*, that were buried before the Gates in the *Ceramicus*.

* He was placed before the King in battel.

When *Thrasybulus* and the other Heavy-armed men observed this, they went with Succors, and drew up immediately before the rest eight deep. *Pausanias* being prest hard, and retreating about four or five Furlongs to a certain Hill, commanded the *Lacedemonians*, and Allies to march up to him. There he marshalled his Battalion a great depth, and charged the *Athenians*, who closed with him; some of which were afterwards driven into the Clay by *Halæ*, the rest put to flight, and about an hundred and fifty of them slain. *Pausanias* erected a Trophy, and marched off. Notwithstanding all this he was not so much irritated against the *Athenians*, but that he sent a private Message for them to dispatch Ambassadors to him, and the *Ephori* that were there, informing them what they should say. They did as *Pausanias* directed, who raised Divisions amongst the People in the City, and ordered them to come to him

and

and the *Ephori* in a Body, and declare that there was no ground for making a War againſt thoſe in the *Piræus*, that both Parties ought to come to an Accommodation, and enter into an Alliance with the *Lacedemonians*.

Nauclidas the *Ephorus* was well pleaſed to hear this; he and another being there at that time according to the cuſtom that obliges two of the *Ephori* to attend the King in his Expeditions: who both were more inclined to favor *Pauſanias*, than *Lyſander*. Whereupon they ſent Deputies very willingly from the *Piræus* with Conditions of Peace, as alſo *Cephiſophon* and *Melitus*, who went out of the City upon their own private account. When they were diſpatcht thither, ſeveral others went from the Body of the City to acquaint the *Lacedemonians* that they ſurrendred themſelves and City upon diſcretion, and that they thought it reaſonable, if thoſe of the *Piræus* declared themſelves to be Allies of the *Lacedemonians*, that they alſo ought to deliver up the *Piræus*, and *Munichia*. After they had their Audience, the *Ephori*, and the * General Aſſembly diſpatcht fifteen men to *Athens*, that they and *Pauſanias* ſhould joyntly make Peace with the

* Ἐκκλησία, the Aſſembly of all the *Lacedemonians* oppoſed to the μικρὰ ἐκκλησία, which conſiſted of the Magiſtrates, and deliberated about matters of leſs conſequence, *Cragius*.

the *Athenians* upon the faireſt terms they could.

A Peace was made upon theſe Conditions, that the *Athenians* ſhould agree together, and that every man ſhould return to his former Station, only the Thirty, the Eleven, and the Ten, that Commanded in the *Piræus*, were to be excepted; and if any in the City apprehended themſelves to be obnoxious, they might remove to *Eleuſis*. *Pauſanias* having tranſacted theſe Affairs, drew off his Army. Thoſe in the *Piræus* marcht up with their Arms to the *Arſenal*, and ſacrificed to *Minerva*. After the Commanders returned from thence, *Thraſybulus* made this Speech to them. *My Advice to you* (Dear Countreymen that ſtaid in the City) *is; that you would learn to know your ſelves, and that you'll be able beſt to do, if you would recollect, what reaſon you have either to have ſo great a conceit of your ſelves, or to uſurp over us. 'Tis not becauſe you are honeſter than we, for the People of meaner Fortunes than your ſelves, have at no time injured you for money, though you that are of ſuch plentiful Eſtates, have done ſeveral ſordid things, for baſe Gain. Since therefore you have no pretence to Honeſty, ſee if you have any reaſon to be* Thraſybulus's Speech.

proud of your Valour. And how can we make a better eſtimate of that than from the late Action betwixt us. Perhaps! becauſe you are ſupported by Gariſons, Men, Money, and the Alliance of the Peloponeſians, *you'll pretend to a greater ſhare of Prudence than we: Nevertheleſs you have been over-reacht by them, that were deſtitute of all theſe Helps. Do you think you may value your ſelves upon your dependance on the* Lacedemonians? *How can you do that? for they have delivered you up to the People you oppreſt, and are gone their way. Like thoſe that muzzle biting Dogs, and then leave them to the mercy of thoſe they have miſchieved. neither do I* (Dear Countreymen) *require you to violate your Oath in the leaſt; but I perſwade you rather amongſt your other Virtues, to ſhow how religiouſly you can keep it, and what men of Integrity you are.*

Κλοιὸς was a kind of a pair of Stocks that they tied the Neck and Hands of Malefactors. *lib.* 3. *Hellen.*

Having ſaid this, and more to the ſame purpoſe. He told them that they needed not be in that confuſion they were, provided they would be governed by their Ancient Laws; and ſo diſmiſſed the Aſſembly. Accordingly they choſe Magiſtrates to adminiſter the Government. A little after underſtanding that thoſe of

Eleuſis

Eleuſis were bringing in a Foreign Power, they went againſt them with their whole Strength, and taking their Commanders that came to treat, cut them in pieces. They ſent alſo the Friends and Relations of the reſt to them, and perſwaded them to an Accommodation: Then the People ſwearing to forget all former Injuries, kept their Oath, and ſtill live peaceably together.

XENOPHON'S History OF THE Affairs of Greece.

LIB. III.

THE CONTENTS.

The Heroick Mania *ſucceeds her Husband in his Province, and is barbarouſly murdered by* Zenis, *her Son in Law.* Agis *dies, and* Ageſilaus *ſucceeds him.* Cinado's *Plot.* Ageſilaus's *Expedition into* Aſia. *The War breaks out between the* Thebans *and* Lacedemonians. Lyſander *is ſlain before the Walls of* Haliartus.

THUS ended the Sedition at *Athens.* Soon after *Cyrus* ſent Meſſengers to *Lacedemon*, requiring that Republick

to make him a ſuitable Return for the Service he had done them in the *Athenian* War. The *Ephori* thinking it a reaſonable requeſt, ſent their Admiral *Samius* Orders to aſſiſt him if there were occaſion, who willingly complied with *Cyrus*, in all his Commands; for ſailing about with his own, and *Cyrus*'s Fleet to *Cilicia*, he gave *Syenneſis* the Governour thereof ſuch diverſion, that he could make no oppoſition by Land, whilſt *Cyrus* marcht againſt the King of *Perſia*. * But after what manner *Cyrus* got an Army together, and made an Expedition againſt his Brother, how the Fight hapned, how he was ſlain, and how the *Greeks* got ſafe to the Sea-ſide, *Themiſtogenes* the *Syracuſian*, has written.

* *Cyrus* undertook his expedition in the fourth year of the 94 *Olymp.* when *Exænetus* was *Archon* *Diod. Sic.*

After this *Tiſſaphernes* being highly eſteemed, by the King, for his Service in the War againſt his Brother, and being made Governour both of the Provinces he ruled before, as alſo thoſe that *Cyrus* had; he forthwith required all the *Ionic* Cities to yield him Obedience. But they being deſirous to maintain their Liberty, and fearing *Tiſſaphernes*, becauſe they had choſen *Cyrus* (while living) to be their Governour in his ſtead, did not receive him within their Cities, but ſent

Olymp. 95. *Laches Archon.*

Ambaſſadors

Ambaſſadors to *Lucedemon*, deſiring, that they, being Protectors of all *Greece*, would extend their care to the *Greeks* in *Aſia* too, that their Country might not be deſtroyed, and that their Liberty might be preſerved.

Hereupon the *Lacedomonians* ſent *Thimbro* General, ordering him about one thouſand of the Half-Slaves, and four thouſand other *Peloponeſians*, deſiring of the *Athenians* three hundred Horſe, beſides theſe Forces, and undertook to pay them himſelf. They ſent him three hundred of thoſe, that ſerved under the Thirty Tyrants, ſuppoſing it would be no loſs to the People, to have them ſent abroad, and knockt on the head. When they arrived in *Aſia*, he drew ſome Forces out of the *Greek* Gariſons in the Continent: for all the Cities obeyed, becauſe a *Lacedemonian* Commanded. *Thimbro* with theſe Forces obſerved the Enemies Horſe, but did not take the Field with his Army, being contented only to preſerve the Countrey, where he was, from Depredations. But after thoſe that went in the Expedition with *Cyrus*, returned ſafe home, and joyned him; he marcht into the Field againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, and took upon ſurrender *Pergamus*, *Teuthrania*, and *Hali-*

Lacedemonian Commanded. Ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίου ἄρχοντος.

ſarnia, the Province of *Euryſthenes*, and *Procles* deſcended of *Demaratus* the *Lacedemonian*, on whom the King of *Perſia* had conferred this Government, as a Reward for his Service againſt *Greece*. Alſo *Gorgio* and *Gongylus* two Brothers, came over to him; whereof the one held *Gambrium* and *Palægambrium*, the other *Myrina* and *Grynium*; which Towns the King gave to *Gongylus*, becauſe he was the only man amongſt the *Eretrians*, that was baniſht for adhering to the *Perſian* Intereſt.

He was baniſht *Sparta* and followed *Xerxes* in his Expedition into *Greece*. *Diod. Sic. Lib.* XI.

Thimbro took ſome weak Places by Aſſault, and ſetting down before *Lariſſa*, which is called *Ægyptia*, he beſieged it, becauſe it would not ſurrender. But being not able to maſter the place any other way, he carried a Mine to cut off a Well, deſigning thereby to deprive them of Water. The Beſieged making frequent Sallies, and throwing Wood and Stones into the Trench: he made an Engine of Wood, and mounted it upon the Wall. This alſo the *Lariſſæans*, ſallying out by Night, burnt. Thereupon the *Ephori* thinking he did them no Service, ſent him Orders to riſe from before *Lariſſa*, and march with his Army into *Caria*. When he was at *Epheſus* in order to his

Voyage

Voyage thither, there came *Dercyllidas*, who had the reputation of being a skilful Engenier, being thereupon Surnamed *Siſyphus*, and took upon him the Command of the Army. *Thimbro* returned home, and being accuſed by the Confederates for ſuffering his Forces to pillage the Allies, was fined and baniſhed.

Dercyllidas after he had taken Command of the Army, perceiving that there was no good underſtanding between *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, had a Conference with the former, and entred *Pharnabazus*'s Province, chuſing rather to make War with one, than both. Beſides *Dercyllidas* was formerly diſguſted with *Pharnabazus*; for, being Governour of *Abydus*, when *Lyſander* was Admiral, *Pharnabazus* complained of him, and thereupon he was confined to ſtand with a Shield (which the Valiant *Lacedemonians* eſteem a diſgrace, becauſe 'tis a puniſhment for deſerting their Order in Battel) ſo that for this Cauſe alſo, he went with more ſatisfaction againſt him. He in a ſhort while ſo far ſurpaſſed *Thimbro* in Conduct, that he marcht through the Confederates Countrey to *Æolis* the Government of *Pharnabazus*, without any Injury done to the Allies.

The *Æolis* belonged to *Pharnabazus*'s Province

Province which *Zenis* the *Dardanian* held under him with the Title of *Satrapas*, for term of Life. When he died, and *Pharnabazus* was deſigning to confer the Government on another; *Mania*, *Zenis* his Wife a *Dardanian*, went to him with her Troops, and Money, which ſhe carried to preſent *Pharnabazus* withal, as alſo to oblige his Miſſes, and other Favourits. When ſhe was admitted to his Preſence, ſhe addreſt her ſelf to him after this manner. *My Husband* (Pharnabazus) *was your Ally, and paid his Tribute ſo punctually, that you both praiſed, and honoured him. And if I can ſerve you as well, why will you prefer any other to the Government? If I do not give you ſatisfaction, it will ſtill remain in your Power to take the Province from me, and confer it on another.* When *Pharnabazus* heard her ſay ſo, he determined that ſhe ſhould be Governeſs of the Province.

Afterwards being ſettled in her Governmenr, ſhe paid the Tribute as exactly as her Husband; and when ever ſhe went to wait upon *Pharnabazus*, ſhe always carried him Preſents; and when he came into her Province, ſhe gave him a moſt Magnificent Reception, and more to his ſatisfaction, than any of the other Deputy

Deputy Governors. Nor did ſhe only defend thoſe Towns which ſhe at firſt took under her Charge; but, the Maritine Towns, *Lariſſa*, *Amaxitus*, and *Colonæ*, which would not yield her Obedience, ſhe reduced. When the Mercenary *Greeks* attackt the Places, ſhe her ſelf beheld them from her Chariot, and whoever deſerved her Commendation, ſhe liberally rewarded: whereby ſhe made her Mercenaries very brave men. She alſo attended *Pharnabazus* in his Expeditions againſt the *Myſians*, and *Piſidians*; who at that time infeſted the King of *Perſia*'s Territories. Inſomuch that *Pharnabazus* had a great Veneration for her, and ſometimes admitted her to his Councils. But when ſhe was ſomewhat paſt forty years of Age, *Midias*, her Daughter's Huſband, being egged on by the Speeches of ſome, who ſuggeſted to him that 'twas a diſhonour for him to lead a private life, and live under the Domination of a Woman; obſerving that ſhe had a watchful eye upon others, as Supreme Magiſtrates commonly have; but repoſed confidence in him, and treated him with that familiarity that a Mother does her Son in Law, went into her Chamber (as 'tis reported) and ſtrangled her. He killed

alſo

alſo her Son about ſeventeen years Old, a very comely Perſonage.

When he had perpetrated this Villany, he ſiezed upon *Scepſis* and *Gergis*, two ſtrong Towns, where the greateſt part of *Mania*'s Treaſure was. The Gariſons in the other Towns would not receive him, but kept the Places for *Pharnabazus*. Soon after *Midias* requeſting that he might have the Province on the ſame Conditions *Mania* enjoyed it. *Pharnabazus* returned him this Anſwer, that he ſhould keep his Preſents till he came himſelf to fetch them, and him too. Adding, he wiſht not to live, without revenging *Mania*'s Death.

In this Juncture comes *Dercyllidas*, and forthwith in the ſame day *Lariſſa*, *Hamaxitus*, and *Colonæ* Maritine Towns, ſurrendred themſelves to him. He ſent Meſſengers alſo to the *Æolian* Cities, requiring them to reſume their Liberty, to receive him within their Walls, and to make an Alliance. The *Neandrians*, *Ilians*, and *Cocylites* complied with his Demands, becauſe the *Greek* Gariſons in them had misbehaved themſelves after *Mania*'s Death. But the Governour of *Cebren* a very ſtrong Place, hoping *Pharnabazus*, if he defended it, would prefer him,

him, did not receive *Dercyllidas*. He enraged hereat, prepared to aſſault the Place; but being unſucceſsful in the firſt days Sacrifice, he repeated it the following, and when he had no better Succeſs in that neither, he ſacrificed again the third, and ſo continued on to the fourth; being extreamly troubled, becauſe he haſtned to make himſelf Maſter of all the *Æolis*, before *Pharnabazus* could arrive with Supplies. *Athenadas* a certain *Sicyonian* Captain, imagining *Dercyllidas* trifled away his time, and that he himſelf was able to cut off the *Cebrenians* Water, fell on with his own Company, and attempted to ſtop up a Fountain; but they of the Town, ſallying out, wounded him, killed two, threw their Darts, and Javelins, and repulſed them.

Whiles *Dercyllidas* was grieving there at, ſuppoſing the Soldiers would make their Attacks with leſs Vigor; there came ſome Heralds out of the Town from the *Greeks*, declaring they did not approve of their Governors Proceedings, and that they would rather ſerve the *Greeks* than the *Barbarians*; and as they were conferring about theſe things, one came from the Governour to acquaint them, that he would confirm what the firſt propoſed.

Thereupon

Thereupon *Dercyllidas* after he had ſucceſsfully ſacrificed, ordered his men immediately the ſame day to their Arms, and marcht up to the Gates, the *Greeks* ſet them open, and received him; where he placed a Gariſon, and went directly to *Scepſis*, and *Gergis*. *Midias* being in continual apprehenſion of *Pharnabazus*, and fearing the Townſmen, ſent to acquaint *Dercyllidas*, that if he would give Hoſtages, he would come to a Parly. *Dercyllidas* ſent him one out of each of the Confederate Cities, bidding him take as many as he pleaſed, and whom he would: he took ten of them, and went out to parly.

When he came to diſcourſe *Dercyllidas*, he askt him upon what Terms he might make an Alliance. He told him on condition, that he reſtored the Citizens their Liberty, and permitted them to be governed by their own Laws. When he had given him this Anſwer, he marcht on towards *Scepſis*. *Midias* being ſenſible it was not poſſible for him by force to prevent his Deſign without the Citizens Conſent, permitted him to enter the Town. *Dercyllidas* having ſacrificed to *Minerva* in the Citadel of *Scepſis*, thruſt out *Midias*'s Garriſon, and delivered up the

the Town to the Citizens, exhorting them to live under ſuch a Government as became *Greeks*, and Freemen. Afterwards when he left the Town, and ſet forward towards *Gergis*, ſeveral of the *Scepſians* attended him out of Honour, and Reſpect for the Service he had done them. *Midias* alſo following in the Retinue, deſired that *Gergis* might be put into his Poſſeſſion: *Dercyllidas* told him that he ſhould have Juſtice done him; and having ſaid ſo, marcht up to the Gates with *Midias*, the Army following two in Rank in a peaceable manner.

The Gariſon diſcovering *Midias* in his Company from the lofty Turrets, forbore darting. But *Dercyllidas* ſaying to *Midias*, command the Gates to be opened, and conduct me to the Temple, that I may ſacrifice there to *Minerva*. *Midias* was very loath to cauſe the Gates to be opened, but yielded to it at laſt, fearing he ſhould be inſtantly ſiezed. As ſoon as he entred the Town in company of *Midias*, he went to the Citadel, and having poſted his Soldiers upon the Walls, he with the reſt ſacrificed to *Minerva*. After the Sacrifice he commanded *Midias's* Guards to ſtand to their Arms, in the Front of his Army, for being *Midias* was

was not any longer in danger, they ſhould now ſerve under him: Whereupon *Midias* not knowing how to behave himſelf, ſaid to *Dercyllidas*; I am going to make ſome reception for you. No replied *Dercyllidas*, it would look ill, for me to receive an Entertainment from you, now I have ſacrificed, ſeeing I ought rather to entertain you. Stay therefore with me, and whiles Supper is making ready, we will adjuſt the Differences betwixt us.

Becauſe they that ſacrificed, feaſted their Friends.

When they were ſat, *Dercyllidas* examined him after this manner. *Midias* (ſaid he) did your Father leave you Heir of your Family? Yes, ſaid he. Then ſays *Dercyllidas*, what Manors, what Arable, what Paſture have you? Whiles he was ſetting down an account of them, the *Scepſians* that were preſent, ſaid; Sir, he impoſes on you. Don't ye (ſaid *Dercyllidas*) be too particular. At length when he had given an Inventory of his Patrimonial Eſtate. Tell me, ſaid *Dercyllidas*, who did *Mania* belong to? All cried to *Pharnabazus*. Is not therefore (ſaid he) her Eſtate *Pharnabazus* his? Yes, ſaid they. Then it is ours (ſaid he) ſince we have obtained the Victory, for *Pharnabazus* is our Enemy. Therefore (ſaid

Μικρολογεῖσθε.

(ſaid he) let ſomebody ſhow us where *Mania*'s and *Pharnabazus*'s Treaſure is: upon that ſome conducted him to *Mania*'s Houſe, which *Midias* had ſeized, and he himſelf followed thither: after he had entred the Houſe, he called for the Treaſurers, and commanded his Officers to ſieze them; denouncing, that if they were taken ſtealing of *Mania*'s Goods, they ſhould be inſtantly put to death.

After they had ſhown all, and he had taken a view of them, he locked and ſealed them up, appointing a Guard over them. At his going out he ſpoke to the Captains and Commanders, whom he found at the door, we (ſaid he) have procured very near a Years pay for eight thouſand men, and if we get any thing elſe, that alſo ſhall be yours. This he acquainted them with, knowing when they heard it, that they would be in much better Diſcipline, and more obſervant of their Duty. When *Midias* askt him, ſaying, Where muſt I dwell? *Dercyllidas* made anſwer, in *Scepſis*, where 'tis moſt fitting for you, it being your own Countrey, and Father's Houſe.

Dercyllidas having diſpatcht theſe Affairs, and taken nine Cities in eight days; conſulted, how he might not be trouble-

ſome to the Allies, as *Thimbro* was, by wintring in a Friend's Countrey, and how *Pharnabazus* might not in defiance of him infeſt the *Greek* Towns with his Horſe. Thereupon he ſent to him, and demanded whether he would have Peace or War. *Pharnabazus* conſidering that *Æolis* lay as a Bulwark againſt *Phrygia*, his own Province, accepted a Truce; and when it was concluded, *Dercyllidas* went to *Bithynica Thracia*, where he had his Winter Quarters, which *Pharnabazus* was not much concerned at, becauſe the *Bithynians* had ſeveral times made War upon him. Here *Dercyllidas* ravaged, and ſpoiled the Countrey with great ſecurity, and procured plenty of Proviſions.

Afterwards when ſome Auxiliaries ſent by *Seuthes*, being about two hundred *Odryſian* Horſe, and three hundred Targetiers, arrived from the other ſide of the Water, they encamped, and fortified themſelves about twenty Furlongs from the *Greeks*, and demanded of *Dercyllidas* a Guard of Heavy-armed men for their Camp; and going out to forage, took a great many Slaves, and much Spoil. Their Camp being now full of Priſoners, and the *Bithynians* having Intelligence how many of the *Greeks* went out, and what number

number of them ſtaid behind to defend it, aſſembled a ſtrong Body of their Forces together, both Targetiers, and Horſe, and about day fell upon their Heavy-armed men, being near two hundred. As they advanced they threw their Lances, and darted their Javelins; when the *Greeks* ſaw themſelves wounded, and killed, not being able to do any thing, for that they were ſhut up within a Rampart of a man's height, they broke it down, and ſallied out upon them. But the *Bithynians* being Targetiers, retreated wherever they were charged, and eaſily avoided the Heavy-armed *Greeks*; then they galled them on all ſides with their Darts, and laid in every effort ſeveral of them dead on the Ground. At laſt they were cooped up, as it were in a Pen, and cut all in pieces, except fifteen that eſcaped to the *Greeks* Camp, who as ſoon as they perceived the Enemie's Deſign, eſcaped immediately in the Skirmiſh, undiſcovered by the *Bithynians*.

The *Bithynians* having performed this Action expeditiously, and killed ſeveral of thoſe *Odryſian Thracians*, that guarded the Tents, recovered all their Priſoners, and departed. So that the *Greeks* having Intelligence, and coming with

Succours, found nothing in the Camp but the naked Carkaſſes. The *Odryſians* after they returned, buried their dead, drinking good ſtore of Wine over them, and celebrated Horſe-races; and at laſt joyning the *Grecian* Army, they haraſſed and burned *Bithynia*.

Ariſtocrates Archon.

In the beginning of the Spring, *Dercyllidas* left the *Bithynians*, and marcht to *Lampſacus*: whilſt he was here, there came to him *Aracus Navates*, and *Antiſthenes* ſent by the Magiſtrates at home; who amongſt other things were to inſpect how Affairs ſtood in *Aſia*, and to acquaint *Dercyllidas*, that he was to continue in his Command the following Year, that the *Ephori* commanded them to call the Soldiers together, and inform them, that they blamed them for their former Actions, but in that they had done no Injuries of late, they commended them, and to let them know, that for the future, if they did any Miſchief, it would not be endured; but if they carried themſelves juſtly to the Allies, they ſhould be praiſed.

After they had aſſembled the Soldiers together, and ſpoke thus to them, the General of *Cyrus*'s Troops made Anſwer, *We* (My Lords) *are the ſame men now, that we were laſt year, but our General is another*

another ſort of a Perſon than the former was; from which you may eaſily apprehend the reaſon, why we don't offend now, as we did before. The Commiſſioners from home being received in the ſame Tent with *Dercyllidas*, one of *Aracus*'s Retinue, informed them, that they left the Deputies from the *Cherſonites* at *Lacedemon*; who reported that the *Cherſoneſe* could not be manured, for that they were plundered and ſpoyled by the *Thracians*, unleſs a *Wall were* built from Sea to Sea; and then they might not only have a large and fertile Countrey for themſelves, but for as many of the *Lacedemonians* as would, to plant. Declaring they wondred ſome *Lacedemonians* had not been ſent by the Republick already with Forces to effect it. *Dercyllidas* hearing this, did not diſcover his own Opinion, but diſmiſſed them from *Epheſus* to go and viſit the *Greek* Towns, being pleaſed, for that they would find them in a peaceable and flouriſhing Condition. So the Commiſſioners departed, and *Dercyllidas* knowing he was continued in Command, ſent again to *Pharnabazus*, and demanded of him, whether he would have Peace as he had the former Winter, or War. *Pharnabazus* choſe Truce; ſo *Dercyllidas*

leaving the Confederate Towns in the Neighbourhood in Peace, paſſed the *Helleſpont* with his Army into *Europe*; marching through that part of *Thrace* which was in Amity with them, where he was entertained by *Seuthes*, and arrived at the *Cherſoneſe*. When he underſtood that there were eleven or twelve Towns in it, and that it was a very fruitful and rich Countrey, but reported to be infeſted by the *Thracians*, he ſurveyed it, and finding the *Iſtmus* to be thirty ſeven Furlongs over, he without any more delay, ſacrificed, and walled it in, dividing the ſpace amongſt the Soldiers into ſeveral Parts, and promiſed Rewards to them that finiſhed theirs firſt, and to the reſt according to the proportion of their merit. So the Wall that he began in the Spring, he finiſhed before Autumn, and incloſed within it eleven Cities, ſeveral Ports, abundance of good arable Land, a great quantity of which was ſowed, as alſo large and rich Paſtures, ſtored with all ſorts of Cattel.

After he had performed this, he repaſſed into *Aſia*, and viſited the Towns there, which he found were all in a good condition, ſave only that the Exiles of *Chios*, had ſiezed upon *Atarna*, a ſtrong Place, and

and made Excurſions thence, ſupporting themſelves by ravaging, and deſtroying *Ionia*. He hearing that there was ſtore of Proviſion in the place, ſat down before it, and beſieged it, forcing the Townſmen within eight Months to ſurrender. He conſtituted *Draco* the *Pellenian*, Governour of the Place, and having ſtored it plentifully with all ſorts of Proviſions, that he might have a Place of Reception whenever he came thither, he marcht to *Epheſus*; which is three days Journey diſtant from *Sardes*. Καταγωγήν.

Till this time, *Tiſſaphernes*, and *Dercyllidas*, as alſo the *Greeks*, and *Barbarians* in thoſe Parts were at Peace; but after there went Ambaſſadors from the *Greek* Towns to *Lacedemon*, and reported that *Tiſſaphernes* had power, if he would, to reſtore the *Greek* Cities their own Laws, and that he would ſoon be obliged to grant them their Liberty, if they did but haraſs the Province of *Caria*, his Reſidence: The *Ephori* being informed hereof, ſent *Dercyllidas* Orders to fall into *Caria* with the Army, and *Pharax* the Admiral to coaſt along with the Fleet. They both obſerved their Orders. It hapned about this time, that *Pharnabazus* came to *Tiſſaphernes*, partly becauſe the Οἶκον.

latter was choſen *Generaliſſimo*, and partly to aſſure him of his readineſs to make a joint War with him, as alſo to aſſiſt him in driving the *Greeks* out of the King's Territories. Otherwiſe he envied *Tiſſaphernes* his Command of General, and reſented it very ill, for that he had been deprived of the Province of *Æolis*. After he had heard his Propoſals, *Tiſſaphernes* ſaid to him, Firſt paſs with me into *Caria*, and then we will adviſe about theſe things; when they arrived there, it was thought convenient to place ſtrong Gariſons in the walled Towns, and then to return into *Ionia*.

As ſoon as *Dercyllidas* heard they had repaſſed the *Mæander*, he informed *Pharax*, that he feared *Tiſſaphernes*, and *Pharnabazus* would over-run, and ravage the Countrey, which was defenſeleſs, whereupon he paſſed the *Mæander* too. The *Greeks* marched with their Troops in no good Order, becauſe the Enemy had entred the Countrey about *Epheſus* before them; where on a ſuddain they diſcovered the *Lacedemonians* from the oppoſite Watch-Towers on the Monuments. On the other hand the *Greeks* ſent ſome up into the Monuments and Towers, which they were poſſeſſed of, and eſpyed the Enemy drawn up

in

in *Battalia*, in the way they were to march, being the *Carians* with their white Bucklers, and the *Perſians* that were there, together with all the *Greek* Troops that both of them had, and a vaſt Body of Horſe, *Tiſſaphernes* having the right Wing, and *Pharnabazus* the left. When *Dercyllidas* perceived this, he ordered the Commanders of the Heavy-armed men, and Captains, inſtantly to draw up eight deep, and place the Targetiers and Horſe in both Wings, whilſt he in the mean time ſacrificed. The *Peloponneſians* made a ſtand, and prepared for a Charge, but the *Prienians*, *Achilleans*, *Iſlanders*, and thoſe of the *Ionian* Towns threw down their Arms in the Corn (which was thick in the Vale of *Mæander*) and thoſe that ſtood their Ground, made ſhew as if they would not long maintain it.

The report was, that *Pharnabazus* adviſed to come to a Battel, but *Tiſſaphernes* recollecting after what manner *Cyrus* his Army had received him, and imagining all *Greeks* were like thoſe, refuſed to engage, and ſent to *Dercyllidas*, acquainting him that he would come, and have a Conference with him. *Dercyllidas* taking the goodlieſt Perſons both of his Horſe and Foot, went forth to the Deputies,

Deputies, and thus accoſted them. *I had indeed prepared for Battel, as you ſee, yet ſince* Tiſſaphernes *deſires a Parly, I won't oppoſe it; though if there be a Conference, there muſt be Pledges and Hoſtages exchanged on both ſides.* When this was agreed upon, the Armies marcht off: the *Barbarians* to *Tralles* in *Phrygia*; and the *Greeks* to *Leucophrys*, where there is a Temple of *Diana*, held in great Veneration, and a Pool above a Furlong in Circumference ſomewhat Sandy, being fed with a Spring, whoſe Water is both potable, and warm: And this was that days Tranſaction.

The day following they came to the Place appointed, and there determined to underſtand from each other, upon what Terms they ſhould make a Peace. *Dercyllidas* propoſed, that the King of *Perſia* ſhould reſtore the *Greek* Towns to their Liberty. On the contrary *Tiſſaphernes* inſiſted to have the *Greek* Army drawn out of the King's Territories, and the *Lacedemoian* Governours out of the *Greek* Towns. At this Conference they made a Truce till ſuch time as *Dercyllidas* had ſent the Propoſals to *Lacedemon*, and *Tiſſaphernes* to the King.

Whilſt *Dercyllidas* was ſetling Affairs in *Aſia*,

Aſia, the *Lacedemonians* being formerly prvooked by the *Eleans*, the *Ephori* and whole Aſſembly reſolved to humble them, becauſe they had made an Alliance with the *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Mantineans*, and drove them from the Horſe-races and *Gymnick* Games, pretending the *Lacedemonians* were condemned in a Fine to them; nor yet being ſatisfied with this, had whipt † *Lichas* an ancient man, and thrown him out of the Foot-race, becauſe he had delivered the Chariot to the *Thebans*, and attempted to crown them with Garlands, after they had been declared Victors by the Cryers, and becauſe they had oppoſed *Agis* in making of Vows for the Succeſs of the War, though he went by the direction of the Oracle to ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, and obliged him to depart without ſacrificing; affirming it was againſt an ancient Cuſtom for *Greeks* to conſult Oracles, when they made War againſt *Greeks*.

* They were five, leaping, running, Quoits, fighting at Whorle-bats and Wreſtling. *P. Fab. Agon.*

† *Thucyd. lib.* 5.

Thereupon they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Elis*, and declared that the *Lacedemonian* Magiſtrates thought it equitable, that they ſhould reſtore the adjacent Cities to their Liberty. The *Eleans* made Anſwer, That they ſhould not comply with them herein, for that they had acquired thoſe Towns by the Sword; upon that the

War with the *Eleans*.

Ephori

Ephori ordered an Army to be raiſed, which *Agis* commanded, and fell with it into the *Eleans* Territory by the way of *Achaia* near *Lariſſa*. When the Army had newly entred the Enemie's Countrey, and were deſtroying it, there hapned an Earthquake; which *Agis* imagining to be from Heaven, marched out of their Territories, and disbanded his Army. Hereby the *Eleans* were animated, and ſent Ambaſſadors to thoſe Cities they underſtood were disaffected to the *Lacedemonians*.

Ithycles Archon.

When this Year was elaps'd, the *Ephori* ordered *Agis* to be ſent with another Army againſt *Elis*, the *Athenians* too with the reſt of the Confederates except the *Bœotians*, and *Corinthians* joyned him. After *Agis* had entred the *Elean*'s Countrey through *Aulon*, the *Lepreans* forthwith revolted from them, and joyned him; and a while after the *Maciſtians*, as alſo their Neighbours the *Epitalians*. When he had paſſed the River *Alpheus*, the *Letrians*, *Amphidolians*, and *Marganeans* came over to him; then he went to *Olympia*, and ſacrificed to *Jupiter Olympius*, nor did any preſume to hinder him. After he had ſacrificed, he marched to the City *Olympia* deſtroying, and burning the

the Countrey, and carried off abundance of Cattel, and Priſoners. Inſomuch that ſeveral of the *Arcadians*, and *Achæans* hearing of it, went voluntarily into the Army, and partook of the Spoil, this Campagne being like an Harveſt to *Peloponeſus*. When he came to the City he deſtroyed the Suburbs, and the School which was a fair Structure. As for the City, it being unwalled, 'twas thought he rather would not, than that he could not, take it. The Countrey being thus laid waſt, and the Army in the Neighbourhood of *Cyllene*: *Xenias* his Complices, according to the Proverb, meaſuring their Father's Money by the Buſhel, intended by their own Power to deliver up their Countrey to the *Lacedemonians*, and ruſhing out of an Houſe with their Swords, made a Slaughter, killing one amongſt the reſt that was like *Thraſydæus*, the Peoples Patron; and thought they had killed *Thraſidæus* indeed, ſo that the People, being in a great Conſternation, remained quiet. The Murderers imagining they had done their Buſineſs, went with their Complices to the Market-place with their Arms. But *Thraſydæus* was faſt aſleep in a certain Place, where he had got drunk; and when the People perceived

Spoken Hyperbolically of thoſe that expect more than ordinary advantage, *Eraſm. Adag. Chil.* 2. *Cent.* 10.

ceived he was not killed, they thronged about the Houſe, where he was, and ſwarmed about him like Bees about their King. *Thraſydæus* heading the People, fought, and prevailed: upon which the Murderers fled to the *Lacedemonians*. After this *Agis* repaſſing the *Alpheus*, left a Gariſon of *Elean* Exiles in *Epitalium*, near the River, and conſtituting *Lyſippus* Governour thereof, disbanded his Army, and returned home. The remaining part of Summer, and the Winter following the *Eleans* Countrey was haraſſed, and deſtroyed by *Lyſippus*, and his Gariſon.

Lyſiades Archon.

The next Summer *Thraſidæus* ſent to *Lacedemon*, acquainting them that he would diſmantle the City, and would quit *Cyllene*, *Phrixa*, *Epitalium*, *Letrini*, *Amphidoli* with *Margana*, and beſides theſe *Acrorii*, and *Laſion*, which the *Arcadians* laid claim to. As for *Epeus* a Town that was ſituate between *Heræa*, and *Maciſtus*, the *Eleans* demanded that for themſelves; alledging they had bought it, and the Countrey about it, of thoſe that were then poſſeſt of it, for thirty Talents, and had paid the Money. But the *Lacedemonians* judging it was no more their right for buying it by force, than if they had wreſted it from thoſe

5625 *l.*

that

that were weaker than themſelves, compelled them to quit this Place alſo. Yet they did not abridge them of the Superintendency of *Jupiter Olympius* his Temple, though anciently it belonged not to them: Concluding the Countrey-men that would become Competitors for it, were not worthy to have the inſpection thereof. Theſe Conditions being accepted, a Peace was made, as alſo a League Offenſive, and Defenſive between the *Eleans* and *Lacedemonians*, which put an end to the War.

After this *Agis* went to offer the *Tenths at *Delphi*, and being old, fell ſick in his Return at *Heræa*, from whence he was carried whilſt he was yet living to *Lacedemon*, where he ſoon after dyed, and had Honors above the proportion of a man, done to him at his Funeral. † Some days being paſſed according to Cuſtom, the time came that they were to chuſe a King.

Leotychydes, who pretended to be the Son, and *Ageſilaus* the Brother of *Agis* were Competitors for the Crown. *Leotychides* ſaying to *Ageſi-*

laus

* The Victors offered the tenth part of their Spoyl to *Apollo*, *Dionyſ. Halic. lib.* 1.

† Three days after the Death of the King the Market-place was ſtrewed with Chaff, and nothing ſold. *Herac. Pont. de Polit.*

Ageſilaus and *Leotychides* Competitors for the Kingdom of *Lacedemon.*

laus that by Law the King's Son, and not the King's Brother ſucceeds, unleſs he has no Son, and then his Brother ſhall inherit the Kingdom: I therefore (replied *Ageſilaus*) muſt be King. How ſo (ſaid *Leotychides*) whilſt I am alive? Becauſe (ſays *Ageſilaus*) he that you called Father, ne'r owned you for his Son, and your Mother that can tell a great deal better than he, affirms the ſame. Beſides, *Neptune* convinces you of Impoſture, who publickly drove your Father out of his Bed-Chamber with an Earthquake. The time alſo which is the ſureſt Evidence, confirms this. For you were born the tenth Month after the God appeared, and ſcared your Father out of the Bed-Chamber. This was alledged.

Plutarch in Ageſ.

But *Diopithes* a man skilful in Oracles, and a Favourer of *Leotychides* his Cauſe, declared there was an Oracle from *Apollo*, that admoniſhed them to have a care of a lame Kingdom. *Lyſander* in defence of *Ageſilaus* replied, he thought the Oracle did not bid them beware of one that ſhould ſtumble, and ſo be lame, but rather of a Succeſſor that was not of the blood Royal: for the Government would be altogether lame when not adminiſtred by one of *Hercules* his Poſterity.

When

When the States had heard both ſides, they choſe *Ageſilaus* King; and before he had enjoyed the Crown a Year, as he offered one of the accuſtomed Sacrifices in the behalf of the Commonwealth, the Prieſt told him that the Gods intimated a moſt horrid Conſpiracy; when he offered the ſecond time, the Sacrifice appeared with more direful Tokens, but the third time he offered, the Prieſt cried, O *Ageſilaus!* the Signs ſeem to me as if we were in the midſt of our Enemies. Then they ſacrificed to the Gods, Saviours, and Averters of Evils, and having with much difficulty procured auſpicious Signs, made an end. *Cinadi's* Plot.

Within five days after they had made an end of ſacrificing, a certain Perſon diſcovered a Conſpiracy to the *Ephori*, and that *Cinadon* was the Head of it: this *Cinadon* was a young man, of undaunted Reſolution, but not one of thoſe that were capable of Dignity.

'Ομοίων, thoſe that were capable of Preferment and bearing Offices, *Crag. de R. L.*

When the *Ephori* asked the Diſcoverer how the Plot ſhould be put in Execution, he told him that *Cinadon* took him to the fartheſt part of the Market-place, and bid him tell how many *Spartans* there were in it. I (ſaid he) told the King, the *Ephori*, the Senators, and about

forty more, and then ſaid I to *Cinado*, Why did you bid me count them? He replied, Theſe were to be accounted Enemies, and all the reſt Friends. Beſides (ſaid he) amongſt the *Spartans* that are in the Farms, there will be in each, one Enemy the Maſter, but ſeveral Friends.

Then the *Ephori* asking him, how many were privy to the Plot, he replied, that he was informed by *Cinado*, that not many credible Perſons knew of it, yet thoſe that did, were ſuch as could be truſted, but that it was to be communicated to all, to the Slaves, Half-Slaves, and them that were not yet capable of Dignity, and to thoſe that lived in the Neighbourhood of *Sparta*; for wherever there was mention made of the *Spartans* amongſt theſe, there was none able to conceal his hatred againſt them, but that he could with pleaſure eat them up alive. Again they asked him how they were to be furniſhed with Arms, he informed them, that *Cinado* told him, thoſe of us that have been trained have Arms already. As for the Rabble, he took me to a Smith's Shop, and there ſhewing me a great many Daggers, Swords, Spits, Axes, Adſes, Reaping Hooks, ſaid, all theſe might ſerve for Arms, and that the Inſtruments

Ὑπομείονες.

Inſtruments of Husbandmen, as alſo thoſe that carved Wood and Stone, and the Tools of the *Artiſans* might be employed for Weapons, eſpecially againſt naked men.

Afterwards being askt, when it was to be put in Execution, he made anſwer, that he was ordered to ſtay at home. The *Ephori* hearing this, and giving credit to his Information, were aſtoniſhed: nor did they call the leſs Aſſembly, but the Senators getting together from ſeveral Parts, reſolved to ſend *Cinado*, and ſome other young men to *Aulon*, pretending to give him Orders to fetch ſome of the *Aulonites*, and Slaves, whoſe Names were ſet down in a Letter, and to bring along with them from thence a very beautiful Woman, which was likely to raiſe the Affections as well of the Old, as younger ſort amongſt the *Lacedemonians*.

This is oppoſed to the great Aſſembly, called ἐκκλησία, and is ſuppoſed to conſiſt only of the *Spartans*, *Crag.*

Cinado had ſerved the *Ephori* in the like Capacity before, ſo they gave him a * private Letter containing the Names of thoſe that were to be taken; and asking

* Σκυτάλη, there were two Sticks of an equal bigneſs, one that the States, and the other that the General had; They wreathed a piece of Leather about the Stick, and wrote thwart the Wreaths, ſo that if it fell into the Enemies hands, yet they could not read it, becauſe they wanted a Stick wherewith to fit it, for the Parts of the Letters would not meet exactly together, *A. Gellius.* 17. *Lib.* 9. *Chap.*

what men he ſhould take along with him, the *Ephori* commanded him to go to the Eldeſt *Hippagreta*, and order him to ſend along with him ſix or ſeven young men, of any that hapned to be there, taking care that the *Hippagreta* ſhould have notice whom to ſend, and that thoſe who were ſent ſhould underſtand they were to ſeize *Cinado*, telling him they had provided three Carts, that they might not bring thoſe they took on foot, concealing as far as it was poſſible, that all were to be employed about him only. They did not apprehend him in the City, for that they knew not the depth of the Plot, and deſigned firſt to learn of *Cinado* who were his Confederates, before the Conſpirators underſtood it was diſcovered, that they might not fly.

There were three of theſe, they commanded a Body of choſen Heavy-armed men, *Crag.*

They that were to apprehend him intended to detain him with them, and when they had drawn out of him the Names of the other Conſpirators, they were to ſet them down, and ſend an Account thereof to the *Ephori*, with all ſpeed imaginable. The *Ephori* took ſuch great care, that they ſent a Regiment of Horſe with thoſe that were going to *Aulon*. As ſoon as *Cinado* was taken, a Trooper came with the Names of thoſe he had

had ſet down, and immediatly they apprehended *Tiſamenus* the Prieſt, and the principal men amongſt the Conſpirators. When *Cinado* was brought back and tried, he confeſſed all, and diſcovered his Complices; ſo at laſt they askt him why he did engage himſelf in ſuch a Deſign, he told them that he might be no worſe a man, than any *Lacedemonian* of them all. At length they faſtned him, and his Confederates Neck and Hands in the Stocks, whipping them through the Town, and goaring them in the Fleſh; thus they were put to death.

Soon after *Herodas* a *Syracuſian*, who lived with a Maſter of a Ship in *Phœnicia*, obſerving ſeveral *Phœnician* Gallies arrived at other Parts, ſome a fitting there, and more a building, underſtood there was a Fleet of 300 Sail to be ſet out, and going on Board the firſt Ship, which went for *Greece*, brought news to the *Lacedemonians*, that the King of *Perſia* and *Tiſſaphernes* were equipping ſuch a Fleet, though for what Deſign he was not able to inform them. The *Lacedemonians* were ſtartled at this News, and aſſembled the Confederates to conſult what meaſures they ought to take: *Lyſander* ſuppoſing the *Greeks* would be much ſtronger

at Sea, and conſidering how the Army that marcht with *Cyrus* came off, perſwaded *Ageſilaus* to engage, that in caſe they ſhould raiſe him an Army of thirty *Spartans*, two thouſand Half-Slaves, and ſix thouſand of the Confederates, to undertake an Expedition into *Aſia*. Beſides, he intended to accompany *Ageſilaus* himſelf, that they both might reſtore the *Decemvirates*, which he had eſtabliſhed in the Cities, and the *Ephori* ſuppreſt; and to reinſtate them in their Liberty. *Ageſilaus* offered his Service, and the *Lacedemonians* granted his Demands, with ſix Months Proviſions.

So having offered the neceſſary Sacrifices, and particularly for a ſucceſsful Voyage, he departed, and diſpatched Meſſengers to all the Confederate Towns, requiring them to ſend their reſpective *Quota's* of men, and repair to the Rendevous; intending himſelf to ſacrifice at *Aulis*, where *Agamemnon* when he ſet Sail for *Troy*, had ſacrificed. But the States of *Bœotia* having Intelligence of his Deſign, ſent a Party of Horſe and forbad him to ſacrifice any more, throwing the Sacrifices they light on, off the Altar. *Ageſilaus* called the Gods to witneſs, and going on Board his Gally in

There were XI of them, *Thucyd. Lib.* 4.

a heat, ſet Sail, arriving at *Geræſtus*, where he got together what Forces he poſſibly could, and went with his Fleet to *Epheſus*. When he came thither, *Tiſſaphernes* ſent firſt to know of him, what Buſineſs he had there. *Ageſilaus*, anſwered him, That his Buſineſs was to ſet the *Aſiatick* Towns at Liberty, as we (ſays he) have done already to thoſe with us in *Greece*.

Tiſſaphernes made anſwer, If you (*Ageſilaus*) will grant a Ceſſation of Arms, till I can ſend to the King of *Perſia*, I believe you may effect your Buſineſs, and ſo return home again. I would agree to't (replied *Ageſilaus*) but that I think you'l impoſe upon me. You may aſſure your ſelf (ſaid *Tiſſaphernes*) that if you perform your part, we ſhall make no attempt upon your Countrey during the Ceſſation. When they had agreed upon theſe Conditions, *Tiſſaphernes* ſwore to *Herippidas*, *Dercyllidas*, *Megialius* that were deputed to him, that he would make a Peace without any Fraud, and they again ſwore to *Tiſſaphernes* for *Ageſilaus*, that if the latter performed his part, the Peace ſhould remain firm on their ſide. But *Tiſſaphernes* ſoon violated his Oath, for inſtead of making Peace, he ſent to the King of *Perſia* for more Forces; yet *Ageſilaus* though

he underſtood his Deſign, kept the Truce.

Whilſt *Ageſilaus* lay ſtill at *Epheſus*, the Governments of the Towns being in Confuſion, becauſe there neither were Democracies, as under the *Athenians*, nor Decemvirates, as in *Lyſander*'s time: All the Cities addreſt themſelves to *Lyſander* being one they knew, and intreated him to negotiate their Buſineſs with *Ageſilaus*; which drew a great Attendance always after him, ſo that *Ageſilaus* appeared like a private man, and *Lyſander* like a King; which *Ageſilaus* declared afterwards made him uneaſie. The reſt of the XXX. Commiſſioners moved with Envy, forbore not to tell *Ageſilaus*, that *Lyſander* violated the Laws, and lookt bigger than a King; ſo that when *Lyſander* introduced any to *Ageſilaus*, all whom he underſtood to be in favour with him, he diſmiſt without their Buſineſs done.

Ὀγκηρότερον.

When *Lyſander* ſaw all things went contrary to his deſires, and perceived how matters were, he would not ſuffer the People to run after him for the future, telling thoſe plainly that begged his Aſſiſtance, that if he ſhould appear in their cauſe, it would fare the worſe. He reſented his diſgrace very ill, and going to the King, ſaid to him, *Ageſilaus*! Is it one of your

your Arts to leſſen your Friends? Yes, ſaid he, if they be ſuch as would appear greater than my ſelf, and I ſhould be aſhamed on the other hand, if I underſtood not how to honour them, that augment my Glory. *Lyſander* replied, Perhaps (your Majeſty) is in the right, and has diſcharged your part better than I; Yet my requeſt is, that I mayn't be diſgraced by the loſs of my Intereſt with you, and being I am ſo unpleaſing an Object in your ſight, that you would ſend me ſome whither, where I may be ſerviceable to you.

Upon this *Ageſilaus* was pleaſed to hearken to him, and ſent him to the *Helleſpont*, where finding that *Spithridates* a *Perſian*, was in diſgrace with *Pharnabazus*; he diſcourſed, and perſwaded him with his Children, and the Eſtate he had, together with two hundred Horſe, to come over to the *Lacedemonians*. So leaving the reſt behind at *Cyzicus*, he brought *Spithridates* and his Son to *Ageſilaus*; who when he underſtood it, was well pleaſed therewith, and preſently inquired of him about *Pharnabazus* his Province and Government.

After that *Tiſſaphernes* elated with the Opinion of the Army, that was coming down

down to him from the King, threatned *Ageſilaus* to declare War againſt him, unleſs he withdrew his Forces out of *Aſia*. The *Lacedemonians*, and Confederates, who were there preſent, appeared very much concerned at it, imagining the Forces *Ageſilaus* had then with him, were much inferiour to the preparations of the King of *Perſia*; but *Ageſilaus* with a pleaſant Countenance, bid the Ambaſſadors tell *Tiſſaphernes*, that he was very much obliged to him, becauſe by his Perjury he had made the Gods Enemies to himſelf, and Friends to the *Greeks*. Immediately he commanded his men to prepare for an Expedition, ordering the Towns, that he was obliged to paſs through in his march to *Caria*, to lay in Proviſions, and ſent Orders to the *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and thoſe who lived upon the *Helleſpont* to ſend their Forces to the Rendevous at *Epheſus*. *Tiſſaphernes* partly becauſe *Ageſilaus* wanted Cavalry, and partly becauſe *Caria* was impaſſable for Horſe, ſuppoſing alſo he was provoked by his Fraud, concluded for certain he would fall into *Caria*, the Place of his Reſidence. Whereupon he drew all his Foot thither, and marcht about with his Horſe into the Plains of *Mæander*, imagi-

ning

ning he could trample the *Greeks* under foot with his Cavalry, before they reached thoſe Countries, that were impaſſable for Horſe. But *Ageſilaus* inſtead of going into *Caria*, turned a clear contrary way, marching into *Phrygia*, and falling unexpectedly upon them took the Towns which were in his way, together with a very great Spoyl.

All this while his march was without any oppoſition, but when he came near *Daſcyllium*, the Vant-Curriers aſcended up an Hill to ſee if they could diſcover any thing before them; when by chance a like number of *Pharnabazus* his Horſe, ſent by him under the Command of *Rathines* and *Bancæus* his Baſtard Brother marcht up the ſame Hill; and diſcovering one another at four hundred foot diſtance from each other; at firſt they halted. The *Greeks* were drawn up four deep like a *Phalanx*, the *Barbarians* not above twelve in Front, though a great many deep. Theſe gave the Onſet, and when they came to handy-blows, as many of them as hit the Enemy, broke their Lances, but the *Perſians* having theirs made of *Cornel* Tree, killed inſtantly twelve men, and two Horſes. So the *Greeks* were routed, though when *Ageſilaus* came to relieve

Plethrum is the ſixth part of a Furlong, *Herod.* or an hundred foot, *Suid.*

relieve them with his Heavy-armed men, the *Barbarians* loſt one man, and retreated. The next day after the Fight between the Horſe, *Ageſilaus* ſacrificed to ſee whether he might advance farther up into their Countrey, but the Liver wanted Lobes, upon ſight of which he turned back, and marched down to the Sea-coaſt; and finding he could not maintain his Ground in the Champion Countrey, without he had a ſufficient Body of Horſe, he reſolved to make ſuch Proviſion, that he might not be obliged to he always upon the defenſive ſide. Therefore he ordered that the wealthieſt men in all the adjacent Cities ſhould keep Horſes, and declared whoever furniſht out Horſe and Arms with an approved man, ſhould be excuſed from ſerving himſelf, which was effected with that Expedition, as if one willingly went to ſearch out another to be knockt on the head for him.

The Liver is dumpt together, and all of a maſs in diſeaſed Cattle, which was an ill Omen in ſacrificing.

96 *Olymp.* *Phormio* *Archon.*

In the beginning of Spring, he aſſembled all his Forces at *Epheſus*, intending to exerciſe them, and propoſed Rewards to thoſe Ranks of the Heavy-armed men that had the ableſt Bodies, and to the Cavalry that rode the great Horſe beſt, propoſing alſo Rewards to thoſe Targetiers, and Archers that performed their Duty

Duty exceeding well. Upon this, one might ſee all the Schools full of men exerciſing, the Tilt-yards of Horſe-men running, the Darters and Archers training, which made *Epheſus*, where thoſe things were done, a Place worth the ſeeing: the Market was full of Horſes and Arms expoſed to ſale; the Braſiers, Carpenters, Smiths, Shomakers, and Painters, were all employed about making of Arms, ſo that the City ſeemed to be the Shop of War. This added courage to every one, when they ſaw *Ageſilaus*, and the Soldiers return from the Schools with their Garlands, and dedicate them to *Minerva. For why may not there be entertained great Hopes of good Succeſs, were men are Religious, Martial, and Loyal?*

Ageſilaus thinking the Contempt of an Enemy would beget a reſolution to fight, commanded the Cryers to bring out thoſe *Barbarians* naked to ſale, that were taken by the Foragers; the Soldiers ſeeing them have white skins, becauſe they ſeldom expoſed their Bodies naked, being effeminate, and tender, and always coacht about; thought a War with ſuch People would be no more than if they were to fight with a Company of Women. At this time, a year being almoſt elapſed ſince

Ageſilaus

Ageſilaus firſt began his expedition: The XXX. Commiſſioners, whereof *Lyſander* was one, ſailed home again, and *Herippidas* with the reſt of the Succeſſors arrived. *Ageſilaus* appointed *Xenocles*, and another of their Body to be Generals of Horſe, giving *Scythes* the Command of the Heavy-armed Half-Slaves; *Herippidas* he made General of thoſe Soldiers that ſerved under *Cyrus*, and *Mygdo* of the Troops furniſht out by the Cities; declaring to them that he would march directly, and take his ſhorteſt cut into the heart of the Enemies Countrey: That therefore they ſhould prepare their Bodies, and reſolve to fight.

Tiſſaphernes thinking he ſpread this report, deſigning to deceive him again, and that now he would in good earneſt fall into *Caria*, paſſed with his Foot thither, as he had done before, and poſted his Horſe in the Plains of *Meander*. *Ageſilaus* did not deceive him, and according as he had given out, he fell into the Neighbourhood of *Sardes*, and marching three day through the deſerted Countrey of the Enemies, got ſtore of Proviſions for his Army. The fourth day the Enemies Horſe appearing, *Ageſilaus* commanded the Camp-Maſter General to paſs the *Pactolus*,

Æolus, and mark out a Camp. Then the *Perſians* obſerving ſome of the *Greeks* that followed the Camp to ſtragle for pillage, killed ſeveral of them. Which *Ageſilaus* perceiving, commanded the Horſe to go, and relieve them, but the *Perſians* ſeeing Succours come, drew up in a cloſe Body, and faced them with all their Troops. *Ageſilaus* underſtanding that the Enemies Foot were not yet come up, thought it was a fit opportunity to fight if he could; thereupon he ſacrificed, and forthwith leading his *Phalanx* againſt the Enemies Horſe that confronted him, he commanded out all thoſe that were ten years paſt man's Eſtate, to charge with full ſpeed, the Targetiers to follow on running, after which he commanded the Horſe to fall on, making as if he would ſecond them with the whole Army. The *Perſians* received the Horſe, but afterwards a terrible face of things appearing, they gave Ground, and immediately ſome of them fell into the River, others fled, and the *Greeks* preſſing them hard, took their Camp, the Targetiers, as it is uſual, falling to the Spoil. *Ageſilaus* encompaſt as well thoſe things that belonged to Friends, as Enemies, with his Army, and took abundance of Riches which

13125 *l.* which amounted to above ſeventy Talents, beſides ſome Camels which he afterwards ſent into *Greece*.

At the time of this fight *Tiſſaphernes* hapned to be at *Sardes* which occaſioned the *Perſians* to ſay, that they were betrayed by him; and the King ſuppoſing *Tiſſaphernes* was the cauſe of theſe miſcarriages, ſent *Tithrauſtes* to take off his Head, which he executed, and diſpatcht Ambaſſadors to *Ageſilaus* with theſe Inſtructions. *Ageſilaus* the Authour of all your Troubles, and ours too, is brought to Juſtice, the King of *Perſia* requires you to march home with your Army, and the *Aſiatick* Cities ſhall be reſtored to their Liberty, they paying him the accuſtomed Tribute. *Ageſilaus* made anſwer, That he could act nothing without Orders from the Magiſtrates at home. Then ſaid *Tithrauſtes*, ſeeing I have taken off your Enemy, do you retreat into *Pharnabazus* his Government, till you hear farther from home. *Ageſilaus* replied, give me then Proviſions for my Army, till I arrive thither: So *Tithrauſtes* gave him

5625 *l.* thirty Talents, which he took, and marcht with his Army into *Phrygia*, the Government of *Pharnabazus*; and being in the Plain beyond *Cyma* there came to him a Meſſenger

Meſſenger from the Magiſtrates at home, with a Commiſſion to be *Generaliſſimo* both at Sea and Land, as alſo to nominate whom he would for Admiral, which the *Lacedemonians* did for this reaſon, becauſe if one commanded all, the Forces would be united, whereby both the Land Army, and the Fleet would be ſtrengthened by their mutual Aſſiſtance wherever there was occaſion.

As ſoon as *Ageſilaus* received this Commiſſion, he in the firſt place ordered the Iſlands, and Maritine Towns to Equip as many Gallies as they thought fit. There were an hundred and twenty ſail of Ships new built, part of which the Towns had promiſed, and the reſt ſome private Perſons out of reſpect to him had furniſhed. He appointed Admiral *Piſander* his Wive's Brother, an ambitious, and daring man, yet unfit to diſcharge ſo weighty an Employment; who parting from the Camp, went to take care of the Naval Affairs; and *Ageſilaus* accordingly as he had deſigned paſſed into *Phrygia*. *Tithrauſtes* ſeeming to apprehend that *Ageſilaus* contemned the Forces of the King of *Perſia*, and had no thoughts in the leaſt of drawing his Troops out of *Aſia*, but rather entertained great hopes of

ruining the King, and not knowing what measures to take ſent *Timocrates* the *Rhodian* into *Greece*, giving him as much
9375 *l.* Gold as amounted to about fifty Talents of Silver, inſtructing him to uſe his endeavours, and taking good ſecurity to diſtribute it amongſt the leading men of the Cities, on Condition that they would make War upon the *Lacedemonians*. He went into *Greece*, and at *Thebes* gave ſome of the Money to *Androclides*, *Iſmenias*, and *Galaxidorus*; at *Corinth* to *Timolaus* and *Polyanthes*; at *Argos* to *Cyclo* and his Party; the *Athenians* though they had no ſhare of the Gold, yet were eager for War, thinking the Command in Chief belonged to them. They that received the Money, talkt againſt the *Lacedemonians* in their reſpective Cities, and rendring them odious to the People, ſtirred up the moſt conſiderable Commonwealths to confederate againſt them.

War between the *Lacedemonians* and *Thebans*.

But the Chief of the *Thebans* knowing the *Lacedemonians* would not break the League made with the Allies, unleſs ſome others were the Aggreſſors; perſwaded the *Locri Opuntii* to pay Tribute out of a Country that was in diſpute betwixt the *Thebans*, and *Phocæans*; imagining if ſuch a thing were done, the *Phocæans* would

would fall into *Locris*. Nor were they miſtaken, for the *Phocæans* made an inroad into *Locris*, and took a great Spoyl; thereupon *Androclides*, and his Party prevailed with the *Thebans* to aſſiſt the *Locrians*, as though the Enemy had not invaded a Countrey which was in Controverſie, but confeſſed on all Hands to be in Amity with them. On the other hand the *Thebans* fell into *Phocis*, and deſtroyed it; upon which the *Phocæans* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lacedæmon*, deſiring Aſſiſtance from them, making it appear that they did not begin the War, but only revenged their Injuries. The *Lacedemonians* willingly embraced this opportunity of employing their Arms againſt the *Thebans*, provoked by them before, for ſiezing *Apollo*'s Tenths at *Decelea*; and for not ſeconding the *Lacedemonians* in their attempt upon the *Piræus*, complaining of them alſo for diſſwading the *Corinthians* from joyning with them; calling alſo to mind their denying *Ageſilaus* to ſacrifice at *Aulis*, and their throwing his Sacrifice off the Altar: And for that they did not aſſiſt *Ageſilaus* in his Expedition into *Aſia*. Thereupon they thought they had a fair opportunity to undertake a War againſt them, and repreſs their inſo-

lency. For their Affairs ſucceeded well in *Aſia*, *Ageſilaus* having carried all before him; nor was there any War in *Greece*, that could give them a diverſion on that ſide.

This being the ſence of the *Lacedemonian* Republick, the *Ephori* ordered a Levy to be made, and ſent *Lyſander* to the *Phocæans* with Orders to bring their Forces, as alſo for the reſt to aſſemble at *Haliartus*; where *Pauſanias* who was to Command in Chief, had appointed the Troops of the *Lacedemonians* and other *Peloponeſians* to Rendevous at a ſet day. *Lyſander* not only obſerved his Orders, but brought over the *Orchomenians* alſo from the *Thebans*. *Pauſanias*, after he had obtained a ſucceſsful Sacrifice for his Voyage, remained at *Tegea*, and ſent the Officers of the *Mercenaries* before, being in expectation of the Troops from the Adjacent Places. When the *Thebans* received Intelligence that the *Lacedemonians* were entred their Countrey, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Athens* with this Meſſage: *Ye complained of us* (My Lords of *Athens*) *for paſſing a ſevere Sentence againſt you towards the end of the* Peloponeſian *War*, *but this your Complaint was groundleſs. For it was not the Decree of our*

Oeteans, Heracleans, Melians, and Æni-ans.

The Oration of the *Theban* Ambaſſadoes at *Athens.*

our Government; but one Particular man, who hapned to be in the Aſſembly of the Confederates, that made mention of it. When the Lacedemonians *invited us to joyn with them in the attempt againſt the* Pireus, *the whole Community ordered, that no aſſiſtance ſhould be given them. And ſince we have highly provoked the* Lacedemonians *hereby, we think it reaſonable that you ſhould ſuccour our City, eſpecially as many of you as were then in* Athens *ought in Equity to ſerve againſt them; for they changed your Government into an Oligarchy, and when they came with conſiderable Forces under a pretence to aſſiſt, they brought an* Odium *upon you, and then delivered you up to the People: So that you had been ruined for all them, had not the Populacy ſaved you. We are all ſenſible that you would reſume your former Sovereignty, and what way can this in probability better be effected, than by aſſiſting them whom they have oppreſſed? Ben't concerned at the Multitudes of their People, but rather be the more couragious, conſidering that when you your ſelves had a larger Dominion, your Enemies were the moſt numerous; who concealed their Hatred as long as they wanted an opportunity to revolt. But when the* Lacedemonians

got the upper hand, they declared their Sentiments concerning you; and now if both of us bend our Forces againſt them, you may be aſſured that ſeveral other States will diſcover themſelves. And you will find my Words to be true, if you pleaſe to conſider well on't. For who is there left that favors them? not the Argives, *for they have always been their Adverſaries. The* Eleans *alſo whom they have lately deprived of ſeveral Cities, and a large Territory, are become their Enemies. What ſhall I ſay of the* Corinthians, *the* Arcadians, *and* Achæans, *who though they were courted into the War againſt you by the* Lacedemonians, *yet bore their ſhare in the Toiles, Dangers, and Expences of it. And when they had accompliſht their Deſigns, what Power, what Honors, or what Riches did they impart to them? Nay they thought their Slaves, though there were Freemen enough amongſt the Allies, fit Perſons to be preferred to Governments, and when they became ſucceſsful they declared themſelves Lords of their Confederates. Thoſe they brought off from your ſide they have plainly cullied, and have returned them, inſtead of Liberty, a double Servitude. For the Governours, and the* Decemvirates Lyſander *conſtituted, exer-*

ciſe

ciſe in every Place a Tyranny. The King of Perſia, *who contributed ſo much to their Conqueſt of us fares no better, than if he had aſſiſted us againſt them. If you therefore will head thoſe that have been manifeſtly oppreſſed, you will in probability become more powerful than ever: When ye commanded, ye were only Generals at Sea, but now ye are Leaders of us, and the* Peloponeſians, *with thoſe you had formerly, as alſo the King himſelf that has ſo mighty a Power. You your ſelves are ſenſible that we did the* Lacedemonians *good Service, and we in probability ſhall now follow you more vigorouſly, than we did them formerly. For we come not to ſerve the* Iſlanders, Syracuſians, *or others, as we did before, but to revenge our own Injuries. Neither are you ignorant, that this their exorbitant Power can be with leſs difficulty ruined, than that Dominion of yours. You with your Fleet forced Obedience from your Subjects, but they though few, domineer over thoſe that are Superiour to them in number, and as well appointed as themſelves. This* (My Lords of *Athens*) *we have to add, that you are ſenſible we invite you to Advantages of greater Concern to your Country, than to our own.*

When the Oration was ended, ſeveral

of the *Athenians* approved of it, and 'twas reſolved by all, that the *Thebans* ſhould be ſuccoured. *Thraſybulus* therefore put it to the Vote, and declared, That though the *Piræus* was unwalled, yet they would at their own peril, make them a return greater than the kindneſs they had received. We therefore (ſaid he) will aſſiſt you againſt them in caſe they attack you, becauſe ye did not joyn with them againſt us. The *Thebans* returned home, and prepared to put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, and the *Athenians* made preparations to ſuccor them. Nor were the *Lacedemonians* behind-hand with them; for *Pauſanias* their King came down upon *Bœotia* with an Army of *Lacedemonians*, and *Peloponeſians*, but the *Corinthians* did not joyn them. *Lyſander* having the Command of the Forces from *Phocis*, *Orchomenus*, and the Adjacent Places, arrived at *Haliartus* before *Pauſanias*; where as ſoon as he came, he lay not ſtill in expectation of the Army from *Lacedemon*, but advanced with thoſe Troops he had to the Walls of *Haliartus*; perſwading them firſt to relinquiſh the Intereſt of the *Thebans*, and to reſume their Liberty. But the *Thebans* that were in the Gariſon oppoſed

poſed his Deſigns: whereupon he attacked the Town, which the other *Thebans*, came full ſpeed with their Horſe, and Heavy-armed men to relieve. But whether they ſurprized *Lyſander*, or whether he had Intelligence of their march, and expected them in hopes of a Victory is uncertain; though this is certain, that the fight was under the Walls of *Haliartus*, and he erected a Trophy before the Gates thereof. Afterwards *Lyſander* being killed, ſome of his men fled to an Hill, whom the *Thebans* eagerly purſued, and aſcended up to the top of it, where being drawn into a narrow, and difficult paſs, the Heavy-amed men faced about; when two or three of the formoſt fell, the *Lacedemonians* rouled Stones down the Precipice upon the reſt, preſſing them with ſo great courage that the *Thebans* were beat from the Aſcent, and above two hundred of them ſlain.

Lyſander ſlain.

This Day the *Thebans* were dejected ſuppoſing their own loſs to be as great as that the Enemy had received. But the day after finding that the *Phocæans*, and the reſt of the Confederates had retreated homewards in the Night, they valued themſelves the more upon this Action. Yet when *Pauſanias* apppeared with his Army

Army from *Lacedemon*, they thought themſelves in great danger again, and the report went that there was a profound Silence and Conſternation in their Camp. Next day when the *Athenians* came, and joyned them, *Pauſanias* could neither move with his Troops, nor fight; at which the *Thebans* were the more animated. Then *Pauſanias* calling his Colonels, and Captains together, conſulted whether he ſhould fight, or make truce to fetch off *Lyſander*, with the others that were killed. At length *Pauſanias* and the Commanders conſidering that *Lyſander* was ſlain, his Army beaten and routed; that the *Corinthians* had not joyned them; and that the Allies did them no Service: beſides that the Enemy was ſtrong in Horſe, and they but weak, the Bodies lay under the Walls, ſo that if they had been ſtronger, yet by reaſon of thoſe from the Turrets, it would be no eaſie matter to bring off the ſlain; they thought it beſt upon all theſe Reaſons, to make a Truce, and fetch them off. But the *Thebans* refuſed to deliver them on any Condition whatſoever, except it were, that the *Lacedemonians* ſhould march out of their Countrey, who gladly accepted it, and taking their dead retired out of

Bœotia.

Bœotia. After this Action, the *Lacedemonians* went away much dejected, but the *Thebans* inſulting fell upon thoſe that ſtragled in the Villages, and purſued them to the Roads.

Thus ended the Expedition of the *Lacedemonians*; and *Pauſanias* when he came home, was tried for his Life; being accuſed for coming later to *Lyſander* at *Haliartus*, than he ought to have done, having agreed to meet him by a certain day; and for that he had made Truce to fetch off the killed, and had not attempted it by fighting; as alſo for that he diſmiſſed the *Athenians* taken in the *Piræus:* beſides all this he did not make his Appearance, and therefore was condemned to loſe his Life. But he made his Eſcape to *Tegea*, where he ſickned, and died of a Diſtemper. And this was the State of Affairs in *Greece* at that time.

XENOPHON'S History OF THE Affairs of Greece.

LIB. IV.

THE CONTENTS.

The Marriage Treaty between Cotys *King of* Paphlagonia, *and* Spithridates's *Daughter. The* Thebans *are vanquiſht by the* Lacedemonians. *The* Athenians *beat the* Lacedemonians *in a Sea-fight at* Cnidus. *The Battel at* Chæronea. *The Maſſacre at* Corinth. Corinth *ſurprized by the* Argives, *and recovered by* Praxitas. *The Walls of* Athens *rebuilt by* Conon. Antalcidas *is ſent to* Teribazus *the* Perſian *to negotiate*

gotiate a Peace. The Lacedemonians *defeated by* Iphicrates, *and* Anaxibius *their General ſlain.*

AFterwards early in the Autumn *Ageſilaus* entring *Phrygia*, the Government of *Pharnabazus*, burned, and deſtroyed the Countrey, taking in ſome Cities by Force, and others by Surrender. But *Spithridates* telling him, That, if he would go with him into *Paphlagonia*, he would bring him to an interview with the King thereof, and make him an Ally: *Ageſilaus* was very forward to go, having a great deſire a long time before to bring over this Nation from the Obedience of the King of *Perſia*. After *Ageſilaus* arrived in *Paphlagonia*, *Cotys* came to him, and made an Alliance; for though he was ſent for by the King of *Perſia*, he went not to him, but by the perſwaſion of *Spithridates* left a thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Targetiers with *Ageſilaus*; who returning his thanks to *Spithridates* for them, ſaid, *Tell me*, Spithridates, *won't you beſtow your Daughter on* Cotys? *That I would, replied he, more willingly a great deal than* Cotys *King of ſo large a Countrey, and ſo mighty a People, would marry*

marry a poor Exiles Daughter.

Thus much only was mentioned at that time about a Match; but afterwards *Cotys* being upon his departure came to take his leave of *Ageſilaus*; who ordering *Spithridates* to withdraw, ſaid to *Cotys* in the preſence of the XXX Commiſſioners; *Pray tell me*, Cotys, *of what kind of Family is* Spithridates *deſcended? Of one*, replied he, *that is no ways inferiour to any in* Perſia. *Have you ſeen*, ſaid Ageſilaus, *what an handſome Son he has? What then*, ſays Cotys? *Yes, I have, for laſt Night I ſupped with him. They ſay*, replies Ageſilaus, *that he has a Daughter more beautiful than he. Before God*, ſays Cotys, *ſhe is a Beauty. Then*, replied Ageſilaus, *Since you are become one of our Friends, by my conſent you ſhall marry her: for firſt ſhe is extraordinary handſome, the moſt welcome Quality in a Wife, and then deſcended of a moſt Illuſtrious Father, and one of ſo conſiderable Power, that being affronted by* Pharnabazus, *he has revenged himſelf, in the manner you ſee, and chaſed him out of his Province. You may be aſſured therefore*, ſaid he, *that as he is able to revenge himſelf on an Enemy, ſo he can oblige a Friend; and conſider with your ſelf that if ſuch a thing ſhould be,*

be, you will not only contract an Affinity with him, but with me alſo, and the reſt of the Lacedemonians, *and we, as you well know, are the leading People of all* Greece. *What Nuptial Solemnity therefore can be more Pompous than yours? What Bride was ever attended by ſo many Horſe, Targetiers, and Heavy-armed men, as ſhall conduct yours to your Court?* Then *Cotys* asking him, ſaid, *Ageſilaus! Does* Spithridates *approve of what you ſay? By Heaven,* replied he, *Cotys! I ſpeak not by his Order, for though the pleaſure of revenging my ſelf on an Enemy be very ſweet, yet I am much more pleaſed when I can find out any thing that can be ſerviceable to a Friend. Then,* ſaid Cotys, *why don't you ask his Conſent? Go you therefore* Herippidas, *and the reſt,* ſays Ageſilaus, *and inform him of theſe Propoſals, and uſe all the beſt Arguments you can to perſwade him;* ſo they went and acquainted him: And whilſt they ſtaid, *Ageſilaus* ſaid, *Shall we,* Cotys! *ſend for* Spithridates *hither, for I believe he will be ſooner prevailed upon by you, than by all together?*

Soon after *Ageſilaus* ſent for *Spithridates,* and the reſt, and when they drew near, *Herippidas* ſaid, *Ageſilaus! Not to trouble you with the whole Relation of the Matter*

Matter, Spithridates, ſays he, *will ſubmit wholly to your pleaſure. Then 'tis my pleaſure*, ſays Ageſilaus, *that you* Spithridates *beſtow your Daughter on* Cotys, *and that you* Cotys *accept her, and I wiſh you much joy. Yet we cannot ſend you her by Land before the Spring. Faith*, ſaith Cotys, *but you may preſently have her conveyed if you pleaſe by Sea.* In Concluſion, the Marriage-Treaty being ratified, *Cotys* was diſmiſſed. Immediately *Ageſilaus* knowing him to be in haſt, fitted out a Gally, giving Orders to *Callias* the *Lacedemonian* to convey the Lady; and went himſelf to *Daſcyllium* the Court of *Pharnabazus*, which had a great many, and large Villages about it, furniſhed with all neceſſaries for life, as alſo Wild Beaſts, ſome in Parks, and others in Forreſts, exceeding delightful, being encompaſſed by a River ſtored with all ſorts of Fiſh, and abundance of Fowls for thoſe that loved the Game.

There he took up his Winter Quarters, and partly in that Place, and partly by Depredations in the Countrey got Proviſions for his Army; but as the Soldiers never having been foyled before, contemned the Enemy, and were not upon their Guard when they foraged, *Pharnabazus* with two Scythed Chariots, and

four hundred Horſe, met them ſtragling in the Plains. As ſoon as the *Greeks* diſcovered him advancing towards them, about ſeven hundred of them drew up in a Body. *Pharnabazus* without any more ado placed the Chariots in the Front, and following himſelf with the Horſe in the Rear, commanded them to drive upon the Enemy. The Chariots falling in, and breaking their Body, the Horſe forthwith killed and took Priſoners an hundred men; and the reſt fled to *Ageſilaus*, who was not far off with the Heavy-armed men. Three or four days after *Spithridates* diſcovered *Pharnabazus*'s Camp at *Caue*, a large Village about an hundred and ſixty Furlongs from thence, and immediately informed *Herippidas* of it; who ever longing to perform ſome brave Exploit, deſired of *Ageſilaus* two thouſand Heavy-armed men, as many Targetiers, *Spithridates*'s Horſe, the *Paphlagonians*, and what *Greek* Horſe he could prevail with beſides. When he had obtained a Promiſe of them, he ſacrificed, and having been ſucceſsful therein, in the Evening he left off, and commanded the Soldiers when they had ſupped, to make their appearance before the Camp. It began to grow dark, and not half the number

of

of each Party came out; yet that he might not be laughed at by his Fellow Commiſſioners if he deſiſted, he went with the Forces he had, and attacking *Pharnabazus*'s Camp by break of day, he killed a great many of the Out-guards that were *Myſians*, and put the reſt to flight, taking the Camp, and in it abundance of Cups, together with *Pharnabazus*'s Furniture, as alſo a great deal of Baggage, and ſeveral Draught-Horſes.

Pharnabazus fearing if he ſtaid in any one Place, he ſhould be Empounded and beſieged, wandred up and down the Countrey like the *Nomades*, carefully concealing his Encampments. Whilſt *Spithridates* and the *Paphlagonians* were carrying off their Spoyl, *Herippidas* privately ſet on the Commanders of the Heavy-armed men, and Captains to deprive *Spithridates*, and the *Paphlagonians* of their ſhare, that ſo he might have the more Captives for the Slave-Merchants. This Injury they reſented, and like men affronted, and diſgraced, departed in the Night with Bag and Baggage to *Ariæus* at *Sardes:* confiding in him, for that he as well as they had revolted from the King, and made War againſt him. Nothing in this Expedition affected *Ageſilaus*

People of *Scythia*, who have no certain Habitation.

more than that *Spithridates*, *Megabyzus* and the *Paphlagonians* quitted the Service.

There was one *Apollophanes* a *Cyzicenian*, who had been formerly a Guest to *Pharnabazus*, and being at that time entertained by *Agesilaus*, informed him that he thought he could bring *Pharnabazus*, and him to an Enterview in order to treat of Peace. *Agesilaus* hearing this, gave *Apollophanes* safe conduct; and he brought *Pharnabazus* to the Place appointed; where *Agesilaus* and the XXX Commissioners were sat down in the Grass expecting *Pharnabazus*; who came thither in very rich Attire. And when the Servants were spreading Carpets for him, on which the effeminate *Persians* seat themselves: he seeing the mean Accommodation *Agesilaus* had, was ashamed to indulge himself, and sat down on the Ground just as he was. As soon as they had saluted one another, *Pharnabazus* first reached out his right hand, and afterwards *Agesilaus* did the same to him: When this was done, *Pharnabazus* as being the Elder, began to speak. Agesilaus, *and ye Gentlemen of* Lacedemon *that are present! I was your Friend and Ally, whilst you made War against the* Athenians, *for I reinforced your Navy with Supplies of Money; on the Shore I fought on Horseback,*

Pharnabazus's Speech.

Horſeback, and purſued the Enemy into the Sea. Neither could you ever charge me as you did Tiſſaphernes, *with under-hand dealing either in Word or Deed; and though I have carried my ſelf thus to you, yet you have treated me in ſuch a manner, as not to leave me a Meals-meat in my own Province, unleſs like a Dog, I ſhould eat of your Scraps. Thoſe fair Buildings, and Parks planted with Trees, and ſtored with Dear, which my Father left me, and were my Divertiſement, are now all either burnt or deſtroyed by you. If I therefore know not what is Juſtice, and Equity, do you inform me, whether this be the way by which men who have a due ſence of Honour expreſs their Gratitude.* The XXX Commiſſioners being very much aſhamed at this Speech, remained ſilent, and after ſome pauſe, *Ageſilaus* began. *I ſuppoſe* (Pharnabazus) *you know that in the* Grecian *Republicks, men contract Alliances of Hoſpitality one with another, and that when their reſpective Countries Quarrel, they declare themſelves Enemies, as well againſt the Perſons they entertain, as their Countries, and ſometimes happen to kill them too. Now we are neceſſitated, being we are at War with your King, to look upon every thing of his, as belonging to an* *Ageſilaus's Speech.*

Enemy; though we desire nothing more than to renew our Friendship with you. And indeed if your coming over to us would only make you change your Masters, and take on you our Yoke instead of the King of Persia's, *I should not have given you this advice; but now by the Alliance with us you shall not be obliged to prostrate your self before any, nor acknowledge a Superior, but live, and enjoy your own.* For Liberty in my opinion is of equal value to all the Riches in the World; *nor do I advise you, to purchase your freedom by the loss of your Greatness, but by the advantage of our Alliance, to enlarge* (not the Kings) *but your own Dominions, by subduing others in your own condition, and making them your own Subjects: Thus if you become both free and wealthy, what will you then want to compleat your Happiness. Pharnabazus* replied, I will tell you plainly what I'll do; *So you ought*, said Agesilaus; *If then*, says he, *the King sends another Governour, and commands me to obey him, I'll make an Alliance with you; but if he gives me the Supreme Command* (for this is something which seems to be worthy ones Ambition) *assure your selves I'll make a vigorous War upon you. Agesilaus* hearing

ing this, took him by the hand, and ſaid to him: *I wiſh* (Gallant Prince) *ſince you are a Perſon of ſo great Generoſity, that we might enjoy your Friendſhip; yet be ſatisfied in this one thing, that I will draw my Army out of your Province with all Expedition, and hereafter if the War continue, as long as there is any elſe to fall upon, we will forbear you and yours.*

The Conference ending, *Pharnabazus* mounted, and rode away, but his Son by his Wife *Parapita*, an handſome Youth, ſtaying behind a while, ran to *Ageſilaus*, and ſaid to him, *I contract an Alliance of Hoſpitality with you: I accept it*, replies Ageſilaus: *Remember it then, ſaid the Young man*, and forthwith gave *Ageſilaus* a neat Dart that he had. *Ageſilaus* accepted it, and pulling the curious Trappings off of *Idæus* the Painter's Horſe preſented the Youth with them; who after that nimbly mounted his Steed, and followed his Father. But when his Brother in *Pharnabazus*'s abſence had ſeized the Province, and baniſhed him, *Ageſilaus* took not only particular care of him; but procured alſo for the Youth's ſake, that the Son of *Evalces* the *Athenian*, whom he had a love for, though he

were the * biggeſt of the Youths, might be admitted into the Foot-race at the *Olympick* Games. He alſo according to his Promiſe retired out of *Pharnabazus*'s Province; and the Spring juſt now approaching he arrived in the Plains of *Thebes*, and encamped by the Temple of *Diana Aſturina*: where beſide the Forces he had with him, he got together a very powerful Army from all Parts, and prepared to march up into the Countrey as far as it was poſſible, ſuppoſing that he ſhould diſpoſſeſs the King of *Perſia* of all the Provinces he left behind him.

* There were three ſorts of Champions, the Boys, Youths, and men, who were to be approved by the Judges called *Hellanodicæ*, before they could be admitted to exerciſe, and by favour the Son of *Evalces* paſſed for a Boy, though a ſize bigger, *Pet. Fab. Agon. Lib.* III. *C.* 9.

Diophantus Archon.

As *Ageſilaus* deſigned thus with himſelf, the *Lacedemonians* diſcovering that for certain Money had been ſent into *Greece*, and that the moſt conſiderable Cities had confederated to make War upon them, and apprehending their Republick was in danger, and that they were obliged to provide for a New War: they accordingly did, and ſent *Epicydidas* to *Ageſilaus*, who after he arrived, related how Affairs ſtood, and that the State had ſent Orders for him to come to the aſſiſtance of his Countrey. *Ageſilaus* hearing this was extraordinarily

extraordinarily concerned, conſidering what Honours, and Hopes he ſhould thereby be deprived of. However he called the Confederates together, and communicated to them the State's Orders, declaring that he was neceſſitated to go to the aſſiſtance of his Countrey. If things ſucceed well with us, aſſure your ſelves, ſaid he, that I will not forget you, but return, and do whatever you ſhall require. When they heard this, they ſhed abundance of Tears, and reſolved with an Univerſal Conſent to accompany *Ageſilaus*, and ſuccour *Lacedemon*; and if they met with Succeſs to bring him back again into *Aſia*. Whilſt they were preparing for the Expedition, *Ageſilaus* left *Euxenus* General with an Army of 400 men to preſerve the Towns they were poſſeſt of, and intended to carry with him a conſiderable Body of the ſtouteſt men, finding that ſeveral of the Soldiers were more inclined to ſtay there, than to go and fight againſt the *Greeks*. He propoſed Prizes to thoſe Cities that furniſhed the beſt Soldiers; and to thoſe Captains of the *Mercenaries*, who came into the Service with a Company of the beſt appointed either of Heavy-armed men, Archers, or Targetiers. To the Captains

Captains of Horſe he declared that whoſoever brought a Troop the beſt horſed, and armed, ſhould have alſo a Reward; telling them he would determine this matter in the *Cherſoneſe*, after he was paſſed out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, and that they ſhould be ſure to chuſe ſelect men for this Expedition. The Prizes were generally Arms for the Heavy-armed men, and Horſe, neatly made; and ſome Crowns of Gold; ſo that all of them amounted to no leſs than the value of 750 *l.* four Talents; and though he had been at ſuch Expences, yet he provided Arms for his Soldiers.

Afterwards when he had paſſed the *Helleſpont*, there were choſen Umpires, of the *Lacedemonians*, *Menaſcus*, *Heripidas*, and *Orſippus*; of the Confederates one out of every City. As ſoon as this Arbitration was over, *Ageſilaus* marched with his Army the ſame Way that *Xerxes* did, when he invaded *Greece*. About this time the *Ephori* raiſed Forces; and the States, becauſe *Ageſipolis* was a *Minor*, gave the Command of the Army to *Ariſtodemus* the Protector, and one of the Royal Family. After the *Lacedemonians* had taken the Field, the Enemy aſſembled together, and conſulted how they

they might manage the War to the beſt advantage. Then ſaid *Timolaus* the *Corinthian*: *Gentlemen, Methinks the Affairs of the* Lacedemonians *are like Rivers, which being not large near their Springs, may be eaſily forded over, but while they continue their courſe farther, the acceſſion of other Waters makes their Stream more rapid. Juſt ſo are the* Lacedemonians, *for at the Place they ſet forth they are only themſelves; but in their Progreſs, they having joyned other Cities, become more numerous, and are hardly to be grapled with. I find too,* ſays he, *that thoſe who would deſtroy Waſps, if they hunt them after they get out of their holes, are ſtung by Swarms of them; but if they ſet fire to them in their Neſts, then they deſtroy them, and ſuffer no harm at all themſelves. Therefore upon theſe conſiderations, I think it beſt to give them battel at* Lacedemon, *or if that cannot be, yet as near to the Place as is poſſible.* This Propoſal ſeeming reaſonable, they made a Decree accordingly; and whilſt they debated about the Command in Chief, they agreed how many they ſhould draw up in Front, leſt they ſhould make their Battalions too deep, and thereby let the Enemy encompaſs them. The *Lacedemonians*

Timolaus his Speech.

monians together with the *Tegeans*, and *Mantineans* marched out by the Sea ſide, and arrived about the ſame time at *Sicyon*, that the *Corinthians* and their Confederates did at *Nemea*. Hereupon the latter made an Impreſſion upon the *Lacedemonians* near *Epiecæa*; and at firſt the Enemies Light-armed men darting, and throwing from an Eminence, did great Execution upon them; but the *Lacedemonians* marching down by the Sea ſide, and taking the way through the Plain, deſtroyed, and burnt the Countrey. The Enemy went out and encamped by a Brook that ran before their Camp; & the *Lacedemonians* advancing within leſs than ten furlongs off them, encamped alſo, and lay ſtill.

I will now give an Account how ſtrong both Armies were: there were drawn together about ſix thouſand of the *Lacedemonian* Heavy-armed men, of the *Eleans*, *Triphylians*, *Acrorians*, and *Laſioneans* near 3000; of *Sicyonians* 1500, of *Epidaurians*, *Træzenians*, *Hermioneans* and *Halieans* no leſs than 3000; beſides theſe there were ſix hundred *Lacedemonian* Horſe, ſupported by three hundred *Cretan* Archers. Of the *Marganean*, *Ledrinian*, *Amphidolian* Slingers, no leſs than four hundred. The *Phliaſians* were not

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in the Army, but pretended there was a Truce. Theſe were the Forces of the *Lacedemonians*. The Enemies Army conſiſted in ſix thouſand *Athenian* Heavy-armed men, and as the report went, ſeven thouſand *Argives*. The *Exotians*, the *Orchomenians* being not there, were but about 5000. the *Corinthians* three thouſand, and out of all *Eubœa* three thouſand more. Theſe were their Heavy-armed men. The *Bœotian* Horſe, the *Orchomenians* being not there were about eight hundred, the *Athenian* near ſix hundred, of the *Chalcideans* that came out of *Eubœa* an hundred, of the *Locri Opuntij* fifty. The Light-armed men together with the *Corinthians* exceeded this number, being joyned by the *Locri Ozolæ*, the *Melieans*, and *Acarnanians*. Theſe were the Forces on both ſides.

The *Bœotians*, whilſt they had the left Wing, were not urgent for a Battel, but when the *Athenians* were drawn up againſt the *Lacedemonians*, and they oppoſed to the *Achæans* in the right, they immediately cried out, the Sacrifice was auſpicious, and ordered to make ready for a Battle. Here at firſt they took no care to draw up ſixteen in Front, but made their Battalion altogether deep, nor did they

they move to the right, that they might thereby outwing the Enemy. The *Athenians* followed, that they might not be diſordered, although they underſtood that they were in danger of being ſurrounded. Hitherto the *Lacedemonians* did not diſcover that the Enemy advanced, becauſe the Place thereabouts was woody; but after they had begun to ſing the *Pæan*, they then perceived them inſtantly, and commanded all to prepare for fighting, and being drawn up in the order, the Officers of the *Mercenaries* had marſhalled each Battalion; they were commanded to follow their Leader. The *Lacedemonians* advanced towards the right of the Enemy, and did ſo far outwing them, that the *Lacedemonians* confronted ſix of the *Athenian* Regiments, and the *Tegeans* four.

Now both Armies being leſs than a Furlong diſtant from each other, the *Lacedemonians* according to cuſtom ſacrificed a Goat to *Minerva Agrotera*, and advanced toward the Enemy, wheeling about to ſurround them with the part of their Wing that out-reached theirs. When the Battels were joyned, all the *Lacedemonian* Confederates were foyled by the Enemy; except the *Pellenians* that fought the

the *Theſpieans*, who behaved themſelves ſo well, that ſeveral were ſlain on both ſides. The *Lacedemonians* beat as many of the *Athenians* as fell to their ſhare, and ſurrounded them with their extended Wing, cutting off a great many, and marched on in good order, as if they had ſuffered nothing; and paſſed by four of the *Athenian* Regiments before they gave over the purſuit. Nor did they loſe any men except thoſe in the Charge againſt the *Tegeans*; but in their return they fell upon the *Argives*, and as the foremoſt Colonel was going to attack them, one, they ſay, cried out to let the foremoſt of the Enemy paſs, which being done accordingly, they galled their Flank, and killed a great many men that fled by them. After that, they received the *Corinthians* coming back from purſuing, and cut in pieces abundance of them. Upon this the routed fled firſt to the Gariſons, but afterwards by the Example of the *Corinthians*, betook themſelves to their former Camp; thereupon the *Lacedemonians* returned to the Place where the Battel begun, and erected a Trophy. This is the account of that Fight.

In the mean while *Ageſilaus* haſtned with Succours out of *Aſia*, and whilſt he

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was at *Amphipolis*; *Dercyllidas* brought him the News of a Victory the *Lacedemonians* had obtained with the loſs of conſiderable numbers on the Enemies ſide, and but eight *Lacedemonians*, though ſeveral of their Confederates were killed. Then *Ageſilaus* ſaid to him, *Dercyllidas? would it not be convenient that the Cities which have ſent their Forces to joyn ours ſhould have Intelligence of it with all ſpeed?* *Dercyllidas* made anſwer that they would be the more encouraged if they heard on't. Therefore *ſince you are here*, ſaid *Ageſilaus*, *you might make a fit Meſſenger.* *Dercyllidas* hearkned willingly to this, for he loved travelling, and ſaid to *Ageſilaus*, *I'll go if you'll command me.* *Then I command you*, replied he, *and moreover I would have you tell them, that if things ſucceed well here, I'll be with them again according to my Promiſe.*

Dercyllidas was now departed from the *Helleſpont*, and *Ageſilaus* marched through *Macedon*, and came into *Theſſaly*, where the *Lariſſeans*, *Cranonians*, *Scotuſæans*, and *Pharſalians* being in League with the *Bœotians*, together with all the *Theſſalians*, except the Exiles, purſued him, and cut off ſome of his Rear. He marched with his Army in a Square, placing one half of

of his Cavalry in the Front, and the other in the Rear, but the *Theſſalians* attacking his Rear, and hindering his March, he ſent all the Horſe to the Front, except his own Guards. As ſoon as they confronted each other, the *Theſſalians* not thinking fit with their Horſe to engage the Heavy-armed men, faced about, and retreated gently: *Ageſilaus*'s Horſe purſued them unadviſedly, and he finding both them and the Enemy in diſorder, ſent his own Guards, being very ſtout men, and ordered them to command the reſt to purſue with all ſpeed imaginable, and not give them opportunity of facing about. The *Theſſalians* ſeeing the *Lacedemonians* coming upon them contrary to their expectation, ſome of them fled, ſome turned upon the Enemy, and others that attempted the like were flanked by the Horſe, and taken. *Polymachus* the *Pharſalian* that commanded the Horſe faced about, and fighting with thoſe he had with him, was ſlain. Thereupon the *Theſſalians* falling into a confuſed Flight, ſome were killed, and others taken, nor did they make an halt, till they had recovered the Mountain *Narthacium*. Then *Ageſilaus* erected a Trophy between *Pras* and *Narthacium*, and reſted there, being

much pleaſed with the Action, in that he had beat thoſe Cavalry that gloried in their Horſemanſhip, with ſuch Horſe as he himſelf had raiſed.

Next day paſſing the *Achæan* Mountains of *Pthia* he marched through a Friends Countrey, till he came to the frontiers of *Bœotia*, and as he was entring the Enemies Countrey, the Sun appeared like a Creſcent; News came too that the *Lacedemonians* were beaten at Sea, and that their Admiral *Piſander* was killed. There was a Relation of the Engagement how it was; that both the Fleets engaged about *Cnidus*, that *Pharnabazus* the Admiral was there with the *Phœnicians*, and *Conon* with the *Grecian* Navy lay in the Front; and that when *Piſander* had drawn up againſt *Conon*, it appeared he had fewer Ships in his whole Navy, than he only in the *Grecian* Fleet. The Confederates that were in the Rear ran immediately; but *Piſander* engaging the Enemy with a ſtemmed Gally, was forced aground, and the reſt that were driven aſhore left their Ships, getting as well as they could into *Cnidus*, only *Piſander* fought on board his own Ship, till he was ſlain.

Ageſilaus was exceedingly troubled at firſt

firſt when he heard it, yet recollecting that as the News of good Succeſs is a marvellous encouragement to an Army; ſo if things fall out ill, it is not neceſſary to let them know it; he ſoon after changed his Mind, and reported to the Soldiers how *Piſander* was killed, but had got the Victory; and after he had related it, he offered ſome Bullocks for the good News, and ſent part of the Sacrifice to ſeveral Perſons. So that a light skirmiſh happening, *Ageſilaus*'s men beat the Enemy, upon the Fame of this Sea-Victory that he gave out the *Lacedemonians* had won.

There were oppoſed to *Ageſilaus*, the *Bœotians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Ænians*, *Eubœans*, and both the *Locri*: *Ageſilaus* had with him a Regiment of *Lacedemonians* that came from *Corinth*, and half of another from *Orchomenus*, having beſide theſe the Half Slaves from *Lacedemon*, and the *Mercenaries* that *Herippidas* commanded; as alſo thoſe that he joyned in his march from the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia* and *Europe*; there he was joyned by the *Orchomenians*, and *Phocean* Heavy-armed men. *Ageſilaus* was ſtronger in Targetiers, but the Horſe were equal, and theſe were the Forces of both Armies.

I will give a Relation of the Fight, being ſuch an one as has not happened in our time. The Armies met on the Plains near *Coronea*, *Ageſilaus*'s Forces marching from the *Cephiſus*, and the *Thebans* from *Helicon*. *Ageſilaus* led the Van himſelf, the *Orchomenians* being in the Rear of all: the *Thebans* had the Van of their Army, and the *Argives* the Rear. Juſt as they engaged there was a profound Silence in both Armies, and when they were within a Furlongs diſtance, the *Thebans* ſet up a ſhout, and gave a furious charge, afterwards at the diſtance of three hundred feet, the Mercenaries of *Ageſilaus*'s Battalion that *Herippidas* commanded, ran upon the Enemy; and together with them the *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Helleſpontians*; theſe were all thoſe that ran together, and by that time they came within a Pikes length, they routed thoſe that confronted them. Nor did the *Argives* ſtand *Ageſilaus*'s men, but fled to *Helicon*: here when ſome of the Mercenaries were already ſetting a Garland upon *Ageſilaus*'s head, advice came that the *Thebans* had beaten the *Orchomenians*, and made their way to the Baggage: thereupon he moved with his Battalion, and marched towards them. The *Thebans*

The Battel at *Chironea*.

bans ſeeing their Companions fled, and deſirous to make their eſcape to them, got together in a Body, and retired with diligence.

Now without all Controverſie we may allow *Ageſilaus* to be a man of great courage, though here he took not the ſafeſt courſe; for he might have let thoſe that retreated, have paſſed him, and in the purſuit have cut off their Rear; though he did not ſo, but faced the *Thebans*, and fell upon their Front. So they engaged, and claſhing their Bucklers together, fought, ſlew, and were ſlain; at laſt ſome of the *Thebans* eſcaped to *Helicon*, and ſeveral in their Retreat were killed.

Afterwards when *Ageſilaus* having gotten the Victory, was brought wounded to his Battalion, ſome of the Horſe went and told him that there were about eighty of the Enemy, with their Arms in the Temple of *Minerva Itonia*, and demanded what ſhould be done with them. He, though he had received ſeveral Wounds, did not forget the Priviledges of Sanctuary, but commanded to let them go whither they would, and ſuffered none to injure them. Then (becauſe it was late) they ſupped, and repoſed themſelves, and in the Morning he commanded *Gylis* a

Colonel to draw up the Army, to erect a Trophy to crown all with Garlands in Honour of the Goddeſs; the Pipers were alſo ordered to play, which was done accordingly. The *Thebans* ſent Heralds to deſire a Truce that they might fetch off their ſlain, which was granted. *Ageſilaus* went to offer the tenth of the Spoil to *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which was not leſs than an hundred Talents.

1875 *lib.*

Gylis the Colonel marcht with the Army into *Phocis*, and there fell into *Locris*; the day after the Soldiers plundered the Villages, and took away both Goods, and Proviſions, but towards the Evening as the *Lacedemonians* retreated, the *Locri* purſued and galled them with their Lances and Javelins. The *Lacedemonians* facing about and following them, killed ſome, and after that they fell no more upon their Rear, but ſhot at them from the Eminencies. The *Lacedemonians* tried to drive them through the Precipices, but as it grew dark, they by the reaſon of the difficult Paſs, were killed in their Retreat, ſome becauſe they could not ſee before them, and others periſhed by the Shot. There *Gylis* and ſome of his Seconds fell, with eighteen Soldiers in all; ſome being knocked on the head with

Veget. calls theſe *Addititi.*

with Stones, and others dying of their Wounds; ſo that if ſeveral that were at Supper in the Camp had not ſuccoured them, they had all been in danger to be cut off.

After the Soldiers were ſent home to their ſeveral Cities, *Ageſilaus* returned to *Lacedemon* by Sea: At the ſame time the War was carried on by the Confederates who made Excurſions from *Corinth*, againſt the *Lacedemonians*, and their Allies who made *Sicyon* the Seat of the War. The *Corinthians* ſeeing their Countrey deſtroyed, their Subjects conſumed by the War, and expoſed to the Violence of the Enemy, when the reſt of the Confederates were free from Depredations and enjoyed their own Eſtates; the Generality, eſpecially the Principal men deſiring Peace conferred together, and diſpoſed one another thereto. But when thoſe of the Confederates, who had received money from the King, and were the greateſt Promoters of the War, conſidered, that the City would go near to take part with the *Lacedemonians*, if they took not off thoſe who were inclined to Peace, they reſolved upon a Maſſacre. And at the firſt they engaged in a moſt horrid and bloody Deſign; for whereas none though

Eubulides Archon.

Argives, Bœotians, Athenians.

condemned to die, are executed in the Feaſt *Euclea*, yet they fixt upon the laſt day thereof for this Slaughter, becauſe they thought that then they ſhould catch moſt in the Market-place. So when the Conſpirators had notice whom to kill, they drew their Swords, and cut ſome in pieces as they ſtood talking together, others as they were ſitting, ſome in the Play-houſe, and the Judge upon the Bench.

There was a Temple in honour of *Diana Euclea* in *Bœotia*, and another in *Attica*, and I ſuppoſe the Feaſt here might be called from thence, *vide Pauſ.*

As ſoon as the Deſign was known, ſome of the Principal men fled immediately to the Images in the Market-place, and others to the Altars, but both the Murderers, and thoſe who ſet them on being eminently wicked, and void of all ſenſe of humanity, butchered them in the Holy Places: Inſomuch that ſome good men, who were not to be maſſacred, were exceedingly afflicted to behold ſuch barbarous Villainies. Several of the Old men being at that time in the Market-place were killed; but the Young men (*Paſimelus* having ſome ſuſpicion of it, remained in the Artillery Ground) till the Cry was heard, when ſome eſcaping the Slaughter came thither, and running from thence into the Tower, they repulſed the *Argives* with the reſt that attacked them.

Whilſt

Whilſt they were conſulting what to do, the Capital of a Pillar fell down, though there was neither Earthquake, nor Wind ſtirring, and when they ſacrificed the Entrails were ſuch, that the Prieſts ſignified, it would be their ſafeſt way to depart out of the Place. So they at firſt like men going into Exile forſook their Countrey *Corinth*; but when their Friends, Relations, and ſome of the Magiſtrates came to them, entreating, and promiſing them upon their Oaths that they ſhould live at home in ſecurity, ſeveral returned back again. Yet when they ſaw them play the Tyrants, and that their Country was ruined, being called *Argos* inſtead of *Corinth*, their Boundaries pulled down, and themſelves forced to be made Denizons of the former, which they had no occaſion to be, and of leſs Power in their own Countrey, than Foreigners: Some of them thinking this kind of Life not to be born, endeavoured to reduce *Corinth* to ſuch a condition as it had been formerly in, and by reſtoring it to its Liberty, and wholeſome Laws, to purge it from Murderers; which if they were able to effect, they ſhould be called the Saviours of it, and if they could not, yet they having aimed at the nobleſt and greateſt of De-

ſigns

ſigns ſhall obtain a glorious Death.

Whereupon two men only *Paſimelus* and *Alcimenes* attempted it, and paſſed a Brook to meet *Praxitas* a *Lacedemonian* Colonel, who at that time was with his Regiment in Gariſon at *Sicyon*: they acquainted him that they could let him into the Town the way that leads to the *Lechæum*. *Praxitas* knowing them formerly to be truſty men, gave credit to what they ſaid, and procuring the Regiment which was marching out of *Sicyon* to continue there, contrived how he might convey himſelf into the Town. The men by their own diligence had the good fortune to keep thoſe Gates where the Trophy was erected. *Praxitas* coming thither with his Regiment, as alſo the *Sicyonians*, and *Corinthian* Fugitives, and being near the Walls feared to enter, but determined to ſend in a truſty Fellow to ſee how Affairs ſtood within the City. The two men *Paſimelus* and *Alcimenes* ſhewed them all things ſo much to the their ſatisfaction, that he which went in with them reported that every thing was without fraud according to the account the men had given. Soon after *Praxitas* entred the City, and when he ſaw his Party, after they were drawn up, to be weak

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by reaſon of the diſtance of the Walls one from another, the Soldiers made a *Paliſado*, and a Trench, ſuch an one as they could, till their Confederates came with Succours, for they had behind them in the Port a Gariſon of *Bœotians*. The next day after the Night that they entred the City, there was no Skirmiſh; the day following, the *Argives* coming with their whole Power againſt them, found the *Lacedemonians* in the right, the *Sicyonians* and an hundred and fifty *Corinthian* Exiles next them. The Enemy confronted them at the Eaſtern Part of the Wall, next to which were *Philocrates* and his Mercenaries, juſt by them the *Argives*, and the Townſmen of *Corinth* in the left. The *Argives* being confident of their Numbers charged the Enemy, and beat the *Sicyonians*, ruined their *Paliſado*, and purſued them to the Sea, where they killed ſeveral of them. *Paſimachus* Colonel of the Horſe, though he had but a ſmall Party, when he ſaw the *Sicyonians* hard preſt; yet he commanded his men to tie their Horſes to the Trees, and take *Sicyonian* Bucklers, and afterwards getting a Body of men together, fell upon the *Argives*.

The

* The *Greeks* had the firſt Letter of their reſpective Countries upon their Bucklers, as the *Argives* A. the *Sicyonians* S.

The latter ſeeing the * *Sigma's* on their Bucklers ſuppoſed they had been *Sicyonians*, and therefore did not fear them in the leaſt. Then *Paſimachus* is reported to have ſaid, In good Faith! theſe *Sigma's* will deceive you, and giving the charge he fought with an handful againſt great Numbers, till both himſelf, and thoſe about him were killed. The *Corinthian* Exiles beat thoſe that they engaged with, and gained the upper Ground, whereupon they advanced to the Wall of the Town. The *Lacedemonians* being poſſeſſed of the *Paliſado* on the left, when they perceived the *Sicyonians* were beaten, came out to their Relief. But when the *Argives* ſaw them in the Rear, they turned their backs, and fled confuſedly out of their Works; and thoſe likewiſe in the Rear of the right were flanked, and cut in pieces by them; but they who were by the Wall, run back to the Town in great diſorder, yet meeting with the Exiles, and perceiving them to be Enemies, they gave back again, where ſome mounting the Walls leaped down and periſhed, others being cloſe purſued to the Ladders were wounded and killed. Several were trodden to death by the Crowd, ſo that the *Lacedemonians* had choice of men to ſlay. *At*

that

that time Providence put ſuch an opportunity into their hands as they themſelves durſt not have prayed for. For who would not eſteem it Providence that an handful of men ſhould deſtroy a Multitude, being ſtruck with a Panick fear, amazed, expoſed, none of them offering to turn again, and all contributing ſomething or other to their own deſtruction? In a little compaſs of time a great many were ſlain, ſo that as uſually one ſees heaps of Corn, Wood, or Stones, here you might ſee heaps of Carkaſſes. Some of the *Bæotian* Gariſon were killed in the Port, others upon the Walls, and ſome upon the covering of the Docks.

Soon after the *Corinthians* and *Argives* made a Truce, and fetcht off their ſlain. When the *Lacedemonian* Confederates came with Succors, *Praxitas* got his men together, and reſolved to throw down the Wall, that the Army might enter at the Breach, and marching with his Forces the way that leads to *Megara*, he attacked *Sidus*, and took that and *Crommyo*, in which Towns he left Gariſons, and in his Return fortified *Epiecæa*, becauſe, it being near an Allie's Countrey, might ſerve the Confederates for a Place of Defence. After that he disbanded the Army, and went

went to *Lacedemon*. From this time no conſiderable Expeditions were undertaken, only the Cities ſent recruits to *Corinth* and *Sicyon* to defend thoſe Places; but both ſides having a great many Mercenaries they carried on the War very vigorouſly with theſe.

At the ſame time *Iphicrates* going to make an attempt upon *Phlius*, with his ſmall Forces made Excurſions, but thoſe of the Town being not careful to relieve their men, he killed ſo many of them, that the *Phliaſians* who before would not receive the *Lacedemonians* into their City, fearing they would reſtore thoſe Exiles that pretended to be baniſhed for adhering to their Intereſt, were now ſo frighted at theſe *Athenians* who were at *Corinth*, that they ſent to the *Lacedemonians*, and put the Town and Citadel under their Protection. However though the *Lacedemonians* had a regard to the Exiles, yet they made no mention of recalling them home, as long as they were poſſeſt of *Phlius*. But quitted the Place as ſoon as the People began to come to themſelves, and reſtored them their Laws, and Government in the ſame condition they found them.

Iphicrates Soldiers making frequent Incurſions

curſions into *Arcadia*, haraſſed it, and attacked their fortified Places, for the *Arcadian* heavy-armed men durſt never look them in the face without their walls; ſuch a terror were theſe Targetiers to them. And theſe Targetiers did ſo dread the *Lacedemonian* Heavy-armed men that they would not come within reach of their Lances. For once the *Lacedemonians* took and killed ſeveral of them in a Purſuit; and the *Lacedemonians* who before deſpiſed thoſe Targetiers, did now much more contemn their own Confederates, becauſe once when the *Mantineans* came to relieve their own men, and attacked the Targetiers, the latter threw their Javelins at them from off the Wall that reaches towards *Lechæum*, and making them give back, purſued, and ſlew ſeveral of them. So that the *Lacedemonians* jeared their Confederates for being as much afraid of the Targetiers, as Children are of Bugbears. The *Lacedemonians* and *Corinthian* Exiles marching out of the *Lechæum* inveſted the City of *Corinth*. On the contrary, the *Athenians* dreading the Power of the *Lacedemonians*, and fearing they would come upon them with their whole Forces by the Long-walls which *Fraxitas* had demoliſhed, thought

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it neceſſary to rebuild part of them. In order thereto they came with abundance of Maſons and Carpenters, and within a few days time completely rebuilt that part of the Wall which looked towards *Sicyon*, and the Weſt, but that toward the Eaſt they finiſhed more at leiſure.

Demoſtratus Archon. In the mean while the *Lacedemonians* obſerving that the *Argives* lived at home in Plenty, and were mightily taken with the War, undertook an Expedition againſt them. *Ageſilaus* led the Army, who burnt their Countrey, and paſſing directly from thence to *Corinth* by the way of *Tegea*, took the Walls which the *Athenians* had rebuilt. At the ſame time his Brother *Teleutias* attended him by Sea with twelve Gallies. *So that their Mother might deſervedly eſteem her ſelf the moſt happy Woman living: for that the ſame day ſhe beheld the ſucceſsful Arms of one of her Sons againſt the Enemies Towns, and Caſtels at Land, and of the others againſt their Fleets and Shipyards at Sea.* *Ageſilaus* having atchieved this, disbanded the Confederates, and led his own Forces home.

Olymp. 97. Philocles Archon. Afterwards the *Lacedemonians* learning from the Exiles of *Corinth* how Affairs ſtood there, that they had all their Cattle

Cattle in the City, which they kept in the *Piræum*, whereby a great many ſubſiſted; made another Expedition againſt *Corinth* under the Conduct of *Ageſilaus*. He marched firſt to the *Iſthmus* the ſame Month wherein the Games were celebrated: there the *Argives* were ſacrificing to *Neptune*, as though *Argos*, and *Corinth* had been both the ſame, but when they heard of *Ageſilaus*'s coming, they left their Sacrifices, and Preparations they had made for Feaſting, and retired in confuſion to the City, the way that leads to *Cenchreæ*. *Ageſilaus*, though they were in view, did not purſue them, but abode in the Temple, and offered to *Neptune*, remaining there till the *Corinthian* Exiles had ſacrificed and celebrated the Games.

After his Departure the *Argives* renewed the *Iſthmian* Sports, ſo that this year every Prize was twice won, and the Champions were twice declared Victors. The fourth day *Ageſilaus* led his Army to the *Piræum*, but when he ſaw it was defended by a ſtrong Gariſon, he marched back again to the City after Dinner, making as if it were to be ſurrendred to him: whereupon the *Corinthians* fearing it might be delivered up to him indeed, ſent for *Iphicrates*, and the greateſt part

of the Targetiers. But *Ageſilaus*, when he diſcovered that they were paſſed by in the Night, marcht back again by break of day towards the *Piræum*, and took his way by the Bath, commanding the Regiment to poſſeſs themſelves of the top of an Hill. This Night he encamped himſelf by the Bath, but the Regiment abode on the Hill; and at that time he was famed for a ſlight, though ſeaſonable, invention: for none of thoſe who carried Proviſions to the Regiment having conveyed fire to them, though it was cold by reaſon of the Rain and Hail in the Evening, and for that being Summer time they had only their Linnen Cloaths on, and lay on the top of a very high Hill, he ſent them ten men with fire in Pots, as they were benummed with cold, in the dark, and without Stomacks. Theſe men ſcrambled up the Hill ſome how or other, and having good ſtore of Wood, made great fires, whereupon the Soldiers anointed themſelves, and ſeveral of them fell to eating afreſh. That Night they diſcovered the Temple of *Neptune* on fire, but who fired it none can tell.

When thoſe in the Town ſaw the *Piræum* was taken, they no longer made any defence, but Men, Women, Slaves, and Freemen

Freemen retired with moſt of the Cattle to *Juno*'s Temple. *Ageſilaus* marched with the Army along the Shore, whilſt the Regiment came down the Hill at the ſame time, and took *Oenoë* a ſtrong Place, and all the Booty in it. The ſame day, the Soldiers got abundance of Proviſions out of thoſe Places, and they that fled into *Juno*'s Temple came out and ſurrendred upon Diſcretion. All the Murderers he ordered to be delivered up to the Exiles, and the reſt to be ſold for Slaves; ſoon after a great number of Priſoners came out of the Temple. Several Ambaſſadors came to *Ageſilaus*, and amongſt the reſt, ſome from the *Bœotians*, to know upon what Terms they might obtain a Peace, but he very ſupercilioufly did not vouchſafe them ſo much as a look, though introduced by *Pharax*, who had formerly been their Publick Hoſt, but ſat in a round Building near a Lake, viewing the number of Priſoners, as they were brought out of the Temple. Theſe the *Lacedemonians* attended and guarded with their Pikes, being mightily gazed on. *For uſually the Fortunate and Victorious attract the Eyes of all Spectators.*

Whilſt *Ageſilaus* ſat ſeemingly tranſported, one came riding up to him with

his Horſe in a Foam, and when ſeveral asked him what News, he gave no Anſwer to any one, but approached near *Ageſilaus*, and ſpringing from his Horſe, related with a ſad countenance the diſaſter that befel the Regiment in the *Lechæum*. When *Ageſilaus* heard it, he inſtantly flew from his Seat, and took his Lance, commanding the Cryer to call the Colonels and Captains, and Commanders of the Mercenaries; and after they were aſſembled he ordered the reſt, to eat any thing they could get, for they had not yet dined, and follow him with all ſpeed. He himſelf though he had not dined, marched on before, with *Damaſias*'s men, being followed by the Guards with Diligence. By that time he had paſſed the Bath, and reached the Plain of *Lechæum*, there came three Horſemen riding up to him with the News, that the Bodies of the ſlain were recovered; which when he heard, he commanded the Army to halt, and reſting a while, marched on to *Juno*'s Temple. Next day the Slaves were ſold, and the *Bœotian* Ambaſſadors being called, were asked what they came for, they made no mention of Peace, but only told *Ageſilaus*, that with his leave, they would go ſpeak with their own Countreymen

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in the City, he ſmiled and ſaid to them, I know you are not ſo much deſirous to ſee them, as to obſerve the conſiderable Succeſs your Allies have had. Stay therefore ſays he, and I'll conduct you thither, and you ſhall have a true Information of the Matter. He was as good as his word too, for the day following he ſacrificed, and advanced with his Army to the City, and though he did not throw down the * Trophy, yet he cut down all the Trees, and broke them in pieces, ſhowing thereby that none durſt come out againſt him. After that he encamped by the *Lechæum*, and did not conduct the *Theban* Ambaſſadors into the City, but ſent them home by Sea to *Creuſis*.

* A Trophy was a Stone with an Inſcription of the Victory obtained, as κατὰ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐψηφισμένα, it was dedicated, and therefore might not be pulled down, *Cauſab. ad Athen.*

There was great Lamentation made in the Lacedemonian *Army, they being unaccuſtomed to ſuch Misfortunes as theſe; yet thoſe whoſe Relations were killed upon the Spot, were gay and merry after their private loſſes, as though they had been Victorious.*

The Diſaſter that befel the *Lacedemonians*, was after this manner. The *Amycleans* always reſort to celebrate the

* A Feast kept three days with great Lamentation, wherein they eat no Bread but Sweetmeats, *Athen. Lib.* 4.

Hymns in the * *Hyacinthian* Feast, whether they be in the Campagne, or abroad any where else. And because *Agesilaus* had left all the *Amycleans* in the Garison at *Lechæum*, the Colonel who commanded in the Place, ordered the Confederates to defend it, whilst he with the Regiment of Heavy-armed men and Horse, conveyed the *Amycleans* by the Walls of *Corinth*. When they came within twenty or thirty furlongs of *Sicyon*, the Colonel of Heavy-armed men, which were about six hundred, returned to the *Lechæum*, and commanded the Colonel of Horse to conduct the *Amycleans* with his Regiment as far as they desired, and then to march back again. Though they knew there were a great many Targetiers, and Heavy-armed men in *Corinth*, yet they despised them because of their former Success, supposing none durst offer to meddle with them. But † *Callias* General of the *Athenian* Heavy-armed men, and *Iphicrates* who commanded the Targetiers, discovering from *Corinth* that they were a small Party, and not flankt with Targetiers, or Horse, thought they might securely set upon them with their own Targetiers. For if the Enemy marcht on, they would gall them with their Lances, and cut them

† Son of *Hipponicus*.

them in pieces; or if the *Lacedemonians* offered to purſue, the nimble Targetiers could eaſily decline the Heavy-armed men. They reſolved upon this, and ſallied out. *Callias* placed the Heavy-armed men not far from the City, and *Iphicrates* took the Targetiers, with whom he charged the Regiment. When the *Lacedemonians* were galled with the Lances, ſome of them being wounded, and others ſlain, they ordered their Squires to carry off the killed to *Lechæum*. And to ſpeak the truth, theſe only eſcaped of the whole Regiment.

Hereupon the Colonel commanded thoſe who were ten years paſt man's eſtate to repulſe the ſaid Targetiers, but being Heavy-armed men, they could not come ſo near as to reach them with their Lances, becauſe the *Athenian* General had commanded the Targetiers to retreat before the Heavy-armed men cloſed with them, but the latter purſuing them eagerly in ſeveral ſmall Parties, *Iphicrates*'s Targetiers darted their Javelins, and others ran by galling their Flanks, ſo that nine or ten were killed in the firſt Onſet.

After this they attacked the *Lacedemonians* more boldly, and when they began to preſs them hard, the Colonel com-

manded thoſe that were fifteen years above man's eſtate to purſue the Enemy, and in this purſuit they loſt more men than in the former. And now the braveſt of their men were killed; yet a Body of Horſe coming in to their Relief, they purſued again, and unadviſedly followed the Targetiers as they retreated, not only till they had killed ſome, but till they came even with the Front of thoſe that were formoſt in the purſuit, and ſo faced about again.

When they had ſuffered alike the ſecond time, their Numbers continually decreaſed, and they began to droop, but the Enemy grew more bold by theſe ſucceſsful Attempts. At length being in ſuſpence what to do, they retired to a little Hill about two furlongs from the Sea, and about ſixteen or ſeventeen from the *Lechæum*; which when the Gariſon there diſcovered, they got on board ſome Veſſels, and coaſted along the Shore, till they came to the Place. The *Lacedemonians* being now reduced to a greater ſtrait, becauſe they had ſuffered extreamly, and loſt a great many men, were not able to make any longer Defence, but when they ſaw the Heavy-armed men come upon them, they fell to flight, ſome throwing themſelves

themſelves into the Sea, and a few eſcaping with the Horſe into the *Lechæum*. In all the Skirmiſhes and Purſuit there were about two hundred and fifty ſlain. This is the Account of that Action.

Soon after *Ageſilaus* taking with him the Regiment which was defeated, left another inſtead of it in the *Lechæum*, and in his march home, entred the Towns very late, and ſet forth as ſoon as he could; for he marcht out of *Orchomenus* very early, and paſſed by *Mantinea* before it was light; ſo unwilling were the Soldiers to be ſeen by the *Mantineans*, thinking they would rejoyce at their Calamitie! After this, *Iphicrates* was yet more ſucceſsful, for tho *Praxitas* had taken *Sidus* and *Crommyo*, and placed Gariſons in them; and *Ageſilaus* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the *Piræum*, and fortified *Oenoe*, yet he retook all theſe Places except the *Lechæum*, which was defended by a Gariſon of the *Lacedemonians*, and their Confederates. The Exiles of *Corinth*, becauſe of the Regiments Defeat, went no longer by Land from *Sicyon*, but by Sea, and infeſted thoſe in the City, as well as ſuſtained ſome miſchief from them. Soon after the *Achæans* being poſſeſſed of *Calydon*, a Town formerly belonging to the *Ætolians*,

Ætolians, and naturalizing the *Calydonians*, were obliged to maintain a Garison therein, becauſe it was blockt up by the *Acarnanians*, being joyned by a Body of *Athenians*, and *Bœotians*, with whom they were in League. The *Achæans* being in diſtreſs, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lacedemon* to complain that they had not Juſtice done them.

The *Achæan's* Speech. *My Lords, we joyn with you, and ſerve you in your Wars according to your Summons, but when we were blockt up by the* Acarnanians, *and their Allies, we were the leaſt of your care. If Affairs go thus, it will be impoſſible for us longer to ſubſiſt; ſo that either we muſt let fall the War in* Peloponneſus, *and paſs into our own Countrey to make oppoſition againſt the* Acarnanians, *and their Confederates, or elſe accept ſuch a Peace as they will pleaſe to give us.*

Nicoteles Archon. This they ſaid, intimating that they would break their League with the *Lacedemonians*, unleſs they ſent them Succors. Upon this Speech, the *Ephori* and Council reſolved that it was neceſſary to aſſiſt the *Achæans* againſt the *Acarnanians*, and thereupon they ſent out *Ageſilaus* with two Regiments, and a Party of the Confederates, with whom the *Achæans* joyned their

their whole Force. As ſoon as *Ageſilaus* began his Campagne, the *Acarnanian* Countreymen retired into the Gariſons, and drove their Cattel a great way into the Countrey, that they might not be ſurprized by the Enemy. A while after when he arrived in the frontiers, he diſpatched one to the Community of the *Acarnanians* at *Stratus*, to let them know, that if they did not quit their League with the *Bœotians*, and *Athenians*, and accept the Alliance of the *Lacedemonians*, he would immediately ravage their Countrey, and lay all waſt before him. They regarded not his Meſſage, and he Made good his Word. For he fell preſently to deſtroying the Countrey, but did not advance above ten or twelve furlongs a day, ſo that the *Acarnanians* concluding themſelves to be ſecure from the ſlow Progreſs of the Army, drew their Cattel down the Mountains, and ſowed moſt of their Ground.

At length *Ageſilaus* ſuppoſing they were grown over confident, ſacrificed the fifteenth or ſixteenth day after he entred their Territory, and before Night marched an hundred and ſixty Furlongs to a certain Lake, where moſt of their Cattel were, and took abundance of Oxen, and Horſes

Horſes, with ſeveral ſorts of other Beaſts, as alſo a great many Captives. All which Booty, he ſtaid, and ſold the next day. In the mean while ſeveral of the *Acarnanian* Targetiers came up and made uſe of their Javelins, and Slings, but *Ageſilaus* being encamped on an Hill, ſuſtained no dammage, only the Soldiers, as they were providing Supper were forced to march down into the Plain. At Night when the *Acarnanians* drew off, and ſet their Centinels, the Army repoſed themſelves. Next day *Ageſilaus* decamped, but the Paſs out of the Meadows and Plain, being ſtrait, by reaſon of the Mountains which ſurrounded the Lake, the *Acarnanians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the Hills, and put the Enemy to a great deal of trouble with their Lances and Javelins from the Eminencies, and deſcending from thence gave them ſuch a diverſion, that they were not able to march any farther. Nor did the Heavy-armed men and Horſe which were drawn out of the Body of the Army with deſign to purſue, do them any harm, becauſe they retired to their faſtneſſes.

Ageſilaus conſidering it would be a difficult matter for his men, who had been in ſuch hard Service, to force this Paſs, reſolved

reſolved to purſue thoſe that charged in the left, being a ſtrong Party, that had preſſed hard upon them, becauſe this Hill was eaſier for the Heavy-armed men and Horſe to paſs. Whilſt he was ſacrificing the *Acarnanians* put them hard to't with their Lances, and Javelins, and advancing very near, wounded ſeveral of them. But when he commanded his men to purſue, the heavy-armed men who were fifteen years paſt man's eſtate ran upon them, the Horſe moved, and he himſelf followed with the reſt. Immediately the *Acarnanians* who came down the hill, and made ſome light Skirmiſhes with the Enemy, ſoon turned their backs, and were cut in pieces in their retreat to the aſcent thereof. The *Acarnanian* Heavy-armed men were poſted on the top of the Hill, and continued there with a ſtrong Party of Targetiers, who amongſt others threw their Lances, wherewith they galled the Cavalry, and killed ſome of their Horſes. Yet when they were juſt going to cloſe with the *Lacedemonian* Heavy-armed men, they fell to flight and about three hundred of them were killed, for which Action *Ageſilaus* erected a Trophy, and after that went ravaging and deſtroying the Countrey.

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The *Acarnanians* thinking he had done them no Service at all, becauſe he had not taken in any place either by Surrender, or Siege, intreated him that if he would condeſcend to nothing elſe, yet that he would ſtay only ſo long as to hinder the Enemie's Seed time. He told them they made a very unreaſonable demand. For (ſaid he) I ſhall march hither again the next Summer, and the more they ſow, the more deſirous will they be of Peace. This, he ſaid, and made ſuch a march by Land through *Ætolia*, as neither a ſmall nor a great Army could have done without the leave of the *Ætolians*, but they let him paſs at that time, hoping to recover *Naupactus* by his Aſſiſtance. At laſt he took his way by *Rhium*, and returned home, becauſe the *Athenians* had put to Sea with their Fleet from *Oeniadæ*, and ſtopt his paſſage from *Calydon* into *Peloponneſus*.

Demoſtratus Archon.

After Winter was paſt, *Ageſilaus* according to his Promiſe got an Army together early in the Spring to make an expedition againſt the *Acarnanians*; but they having intelligence hereof, and ſuppoſing that they being Inhabitants of an Inland Countrey, ſhould be blockt up by thoſe that deſtroyed their Corn, in the

ſame

ſame manner, as if they were beſieged in Towns, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lacedemon* to make Peace with the *Achæans*, and an Alliance with the *Lacedemonians*. And this is the Account of the *Acarnanian* Affairs.

About this time the *Lacedemonians* deſigning to make an Expedition againſt the *Athenians* and *Bœotians*, reſolved to ſend an Army againſt *Argos*, not thinking it ſafe to leave behind them ſo potent a City as that in their Neighbourhood, and at War with them. *Ageſipolis* underſtanding he was to command the Forces, procured an auſpicious Sacrifice for his Voyage, and went to *Jupiter*'s Oracle at *Olympia*, to enquire whether he might in Juſtice refuſe the Peace offered by the *Argives*, or not, being they made no Propoſals at any ſeaſonable time, but deviſed ſhifts to divert the War juſt when the *Lacedemonians* were ready to enter their Territories. The Oracle anſwered, He might lawfully refuſe a Peace, which was not offered at a fit time. From thence he went to *Apollo* at *Delphos* to know whether he was of the ſame Opinion with his Father concerning the Peace, 'twas anſwered, he was. Whereupon *Ageſipolis* drew his Army out of *Phlius*, (for

(for there the Forces were assembled till he went to both Oracles) and entred the Enemie's Countrey by the way of *Nemea*.

When the *Argives* found they could not prevent the War, they as their way was, sent two Heralds crowned with Garlands to make overtures of Peace. *Agesipolis*, answered them, that the Gods did not think the Peace was fairly offered, nor did he accept it, but fell on, which cause'd a terrour, and put those of the City and Countrey into a Consternation. The first day he dined in the Countrey of *Argos*, and when the usual Sacrifices were offered, after Supper there happ'ned an Earthquake. The *Lacedemonians* having began their March from home, sung all of them an Hymn to *Neptune*, supposing they should return back again, because *Agis* when formerly there hap'ned one in *Elis* had done the like. To which *Agesipolis* replied, that if the Earthquake had hap'ned before he had entred the Countrey, he should have apprehended as if the God had opposed his Design, but since it was after, he thought he gave him encouragement to proceed.

So the next day he sacrificed to *Neptune*, and marched a little way into the Enemies

Enemies Countrey. And becauſe *Ageſilaus* had lately made an Expedition againſt *Argos*, *Ageſipolis* inquired of the Soldiers, how near he advanced to the Walls of the City, and how far into the Countrey, ſtriving Champion like to outdo him in every thing. For one time when he was ſhot at from the Turrets, he repaſſed the Ditch that encompaſſed the Walls; at another, when moſt of the *Argives* were gone to make an Inroad into *Laconia*, he advanced ſo near the Gates, that thoſe who guarded them ſhut out the *Bœotian* Horſe that would have put themſelves in; fearing the *Lacedemonians* would have entred at the ſame time with them. So that the Horſe were forced to lie as cloſe under the Walls, and the Works, as Bats: and if ſome *Cretans* had not made an Excurſion towards *Nauplia*, ſeveral of the men and Horſes had been deſtroyed by the Arrows. Soon after when he encamped at *Erettæ*, there fell a Thunderbolt into the Camp, which ſtruck ſome, and aſtoniſht others, ſo that they died. And when he was deſigning to fortifie a ſmall Caſtle at the Paſs over *Cæloſſa*, the Sacrifice wanted *Lobes*, upon which he marched away with his Army, and diſbanded it, having very much incom-

moded the *Argives* by ſo ſurpriſing an Invaſion.

After this manner was the War managed by Land; I will now relate what paſſed about the ſame time at Sea, and the Maritine Towns, and take notice of thoſe things only which are worth remark, and omit the reſt. When *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* had vanquiſht the *Lacedemonians* at Sea, they went about firſt to the Iſles, and Maritine Towns, and drove out the *Lacedemonian* Governours, putting them in hopes, that they would not build Citadels in them, but reſtore them to their Liberty. They, who heard this, were pleaſed and approved of what was done, ſending Preſents very readily to *Pharnabazus*; for *Conon* had acquainted him, that if he took theſe Meaſures, he would oblige all the Cities, but if he once went about to enſlave them, every particular Place was able to create him trouble, and it was to be feared, that if the *Greeks* apprehended any ſuch Deſign, they would make an Aſſociation. Accordingly *Pharnabazus* was governed by *Conon* in this, and went to *Epheſus*, where he left forty Gallies with *Conon*, ordering him to meet at *Seſtus*, and went to his Government by Land. For *Dercyllidas*

tyllidas his old Enemy who was at *Abydus* at the time of the Sea-fight, did not abandon the Place, as other Governors did theirs, but kept it ſtill in the Obedience of the *Lacedemonians*, and calling the *Abydenians* together, made this Speech to them.

Dercyllidas's Speech to the *Abydenians*.

As you, Gentlemen, have been formerly Friends to our State, ſo now it lies in your power to do us a ſignal piece of Service. It is no marvel if Friends continue faithful in proſperity, but thoſe who remain firm to us, when we are in diſtreſs, ought to be had in perpetual remembrance. Yet our condition is not ſo bad, as totally to be ruined by the loſs of one Sea-fight. For formerly when the Athenians *Lorded it over the Sea, we were ſtill in ſo good a condition as to deſerve well of our Friends, and to revenge our ſelves of our Enemies. This Example of your fidelity will be the more illuſtrious, becauſe at this time our Friends together with our Fortune have deſerted us. If any apprehend that we ſhall here be blockt up both by Sea and Land, let him conſider, that there is yet no* Grecian *Fleet at Sea, neither will the* Greeks *endure that the* Barbarians *ſhould e'r meddle with the Sovereignty thereof. From whence it follows, that if they de-*

fend themſelves, they alſo muſt aſſiſt you.

When they heard this, they very readily complied, and gave a kind reception to the Governors that were preſent, and ſent for thoſe who were abſent. At this time ſeveral men fit for Service reſorted to *Abydus*; and *Dercyllidas* paſſed over to *Seſtos*, a Town oppoſite to it, being not above eight Furlongs diſtant, and got together thoſe, to whom the *Lacedemonians* had given Lands in the *Cherſoneſe*, and the Governours which were expelled the Towns in *Europe*. Theſe he entertained in the Service, and told them that they ought not to be diſheartned, but rather conſider that in *Aſia* it ſelf, which time out of mind had been in the King's poſſeſſion, *Temnos* and *Ægia* which were no very conſiderable Towns, and other Places too lived under a Government of their own, and paid no Subjection to the *Perſian*. *But what ſtronger Town*, ſaid he, *can ye poſſeſs your ſelves of than* Seſtus? *What place is more difficult to be beſieged than it? For he that intends to take it, muſt attack it both by Sea and Land.* With this Speech he abated their Fear. When *Pharnabazus* found *Abydus* and *Seſtos* in this condition he threatned the

the Townſmen with a War, unleſs they would expel the *Lacedemonians*; but they regarded him not, and ſo he gave *Conon* Orders to ſcour the Seas, and went himſelf to ravage the *Abydenian*'s Countrey. Yet not being able this way to bring them to a Submiſſion, he went home, and left *Conon* to diſpoſe of the Cities on the *Helleſpont*, ſo that by next Spring they might get as great a Fleet together as was poſſible. For *Pharnabazus* being incenſed againſt the *Lacedemonians* for the Injuries he had ſuffered from their hands, employed his utmoſt endeavors to invade their Territories, and revenge himſelf on them.

The Winter was ſpent in theſe Preparations. Early in the Spring *Pharnabazus* fitted out a good Fleet, and hired Mercenaries, ſailing with *Conon* through the Iſles to *Melus*, and went from thence to *Lacedemon*. His firſt Arrival was at *Pheræ*, where he deſtroyed the Countrey, and made Deſcents into ſeveral other Places on the Sea-coaſt, incommodating the Enemy as much as he could. But being in ſome apprehenſion, that there were no Ports upon the Coaſts, and that Succors might come, or that he might want Proviſions, he ſoon returned, and *Antipater Archon.*

ſetting ſail put into Port at *Phœnicus* in *Cithera*. Here the Gariſon fearing that they ſhould be beſieged and taken, abandoned the Town. Theſe he let go with a Paſs to *Laconia*, and having repaired the *Cytherian*'s Walls left a Gariſon in the Place under the Command of the Governour *Nicophebus* an *Athenian*. When he had performed this he went to the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, and encouraged the Confederates to make a vigorous War, and approve themſelves faithful to the King. After that he left them all the Money he had, and ſailed to his own Countrey. But *Conon* told him, that if he would give him the Command of the Fleet, he would maintain it out of the Iſlands, and return to *Athens*, where by the help of his Countreymen he would rebuild the Long-walls, and the Wall about the *Firæus*, knowing that nothing could mortifie the *Lacedemonians* more. Moreover, ſaid he, you will oblige the *Athenians* hereby, *Pharnabazus*, and revenge your ſelf on the *Lacedemonians* by rendring that, wherein they have ſo much laboured, ineffectual.

When *Pharnabazus* heard his Propoſals he ſent him very readily to *Athens*, and gave him Money wherewith to repair

pair the Walls. Accordingly *Conon* went thither, and disburſing what was neceſſary, rebuilt a great part of the Wall by the help of his own Sea-men, together with the Carpenters and Maſons which he hired. Another part, the *Athenians*, *Bœotians*, and others built at their own Charge. The *Corinthians* fitting out a Fleet with the money *Pharnabazus* left them, made *Agathinus* their Admiral, and became Lords of the Sea-coaſt of *Achaia*, and the Bay *Lechæum*: On the other hand the *Lacedemonians* ſet out a Fleet againſt them, and made *Polemarchus* their Admiral, but, he being ſlain in an Engagement, and his Vice-Admiral dying of his Wounds, *Herippidas* took the Command thereof. Moreover *Proœnus* the *Corinthian* ſucceeded *Agathinus* in his Command, and parted from *Rhium*, of which the *Lacedemonians* ſoon after poſſeſſed themſelves. A while after *Teleutias* went to ſucceed *Herippidas* in the Fleet, and recovered the Command of the Bay.

In the mean while the *Lacedemonians* receiving Intelligence that *Conon* had rebuilt the Walls of *Athens*, and maintained the Fleet with the King's Money, that ſo he might reduce ſeveral of the Iſlands

and Maritime Towns to the Obedience of the *Athenians*, thought with themſelves, that if they acquainted *Teribazus* the King's General with theſe things, they ſhould either make him their Ally, or prevail with him to withdraw his Contributions from *Conon's* Fleet. They therefore determined to ſend *Antalcidas*, and ordered him to give *Teribazus* an Account of the State of Affairs, and to negotiate a Peace between the Republick and the King. But on the contrary, the *Athenians* ſcenting his Deſign ſent their Ambaſſadors, deſiring the Confederates to joyn theirs, and accordingly ſome went from the *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*. When they came to *Teribazus*, *Antalcidas* acquainted him that his Meſſage was to deſire a Peace of the King for the Republick, and ſuch an one too, as the King himſelf would gladly have. For the *Lacedemonians* would not contend with the King about the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia*, but be ſatisfied, if the Iſles and the other Cities only might enjoy their own Laws. *And why then*, ſaid he, *ſince our Deſign is ſuch, do the reſt of the* Greeks, *or the King make War upon us? or to what end does he waſt his Treaſure? For the* Athenians *cannot make War againſt the King,*

Conon, Hermogenes, Dio, Calliſthenes, Callimedon.

King, without our Conduct, nor we, if the Cities be reſtored to their Liberty.

Teribazus was hugely taken with *Antalcidas*'s Propoſals, though the oppoſite Party thought they were but mere talk: for the *Athenians* were afraid to conſent that the Cities, and Iſlands ſhould enjoy their own Laws, leſt they ſhould loſe *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus*, the *Thebans*, leſt they ſhould be obliged to reſtore the Cities of *Bœotia* to their Liberty; the *Argives* alſo, leſt they ſhould forgo *Corinth*, which they earneſtly deſired to retain; yet at laſt this Treaty came to nothing, and the Ambaſſadors departed home. *Teribazus* though he thought it not ſafe for him to joyn with the *Lacedemonians*, except he had the Kings Orders for it; nevertheleſs gave *Antalcidas* Money underhand, for the *Lacedemonians* to fit out a Fleet with, that ſo they, and their Allies might be the more diſpoſed to a Peace. Moreover he kept *Conon* Priſoner for the Injuries he had done the King, believing the report that the *Lacedemonians* gave of him.

After that he went up to acquaint the King with what the *Lacedemonians* ſaid, and that he had ſeized *Conon* as an Offender, and to know how he ſhould govern himſelf

himſelf in theſe Affairs. When he came to Court, the King ſent *Struthas* to take care of the Fleet, one firmly addicted to the Intereſt of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, not forgetting what the King's Provinces had ſuffered by *Ageſilaus*. But when the *Lacedemonians* ſaw he was ill affected towards them, and favoured the *Athenians*, they ſent *Thimbro* to manage the War againſt him, who paſſed into *Aſia*, and marching with his Forces from the Towns ſituate in the Plains of *Mæander*, he haraſſed and deſtroyed the King's Countrey. A while after *Struthas* obſerving that *Thimbro* always went out in diſorder, and contemned his Enemy, ſent a Party of Horſe into the Plains, commanding them to make an Excurſion, and drive before them what Booty they could light on. At that time *Thimbro* was at Dinner in *Therſander*'s Tent, who was not only a good Piper, but a Pretender to Robuſtneſs, having been brought up in the *Spartan* Diſcipline. *Struthas* obſerving that the formoſt were but a ſmall Party, and charged in diſorder, appeared with a ſtrong Body of Horſe in excellent order, and at the firſt Onſet killed *Thimbro* and *Therſander*. After theſe fell they put the reſt to flight, and cut

Epheſus, Priene, Leucophrys, Achilleum.

cut in pieces a great many in the Purſuit: Some eſcaped to the Towns of the Confederates, but the greater part periſhed for want of timely aſſiſtance. For *Thimbro* at that time, as at ſeveral others, went to relieve his men, without acquainting the main Body of his Forces therewith: and thus Affairs ſtood in *Aſia*.

At that time the *Rhodians*, who were baniſhed by the Populacy, came to *Lacedemon*, and declared how diſhonourable it would be to let the *Athenians* ſubdue *Rhodes*, and get ſuch an Acceſſion of Strength. Hereupon the *Lacedemonians* conſidering, if the People prevailed that *Rhodes* would fall into the hands of the *Athenians*, but if the Principal men, into theirs, fitted out eight Sail under the Command of *Ecdicus*, and ſent *Diphridas* on Board them, with order to paſs into *Aſia*, and keep thoſe Cities faithful which had received *Thimbro*, to recruit the Forces which were left, and to make War with them upon *Struthas*. *Diphridas* obſerved his Orders, and amongſt his other Succeſſes took *Tigranes*, and his Wife the Daughter of *Struthas* in their Journey to *Sardes*; on whom he ſet ſo high a Ranſome, that with it he raiſed Money enough to pay his Army. He

was

was had in as great eſteem by the Souldiers as *Thimbro*, being one who had the Government of himſelf, and accompliſht whatſoever he undertook. When *Ecdicus* arrived at *Cnidus*, and underſtood that the people were Maſters both at Sea and Land, and that they had a Fleet as ſtrong again as his, he lay ſtill: But the *Lacedemonians* hearing that he had too ſmall a force to aſſiſt their Allies with, ordered *Teleutias* to ſail about to him with twelve Ships, that he lay with in the Bay of *Achaia* and the *Lechæum*, to diſcharge *Ecdicus*, to protect all thoſe who would come in to their Alliance, and to do the Enemy what miſchief he could. After *Teleutias* came to *Samos*, he took ſome Ships from thence, and ſailed to *Cnidus*; *Ecdicus* went home: but *Teleutias* went to *Rhodes* with a Fleet of ſeven and twenty Sail, and in his way thither met with *Philocrates*, Son of *Ephialtes*, going with ten Gallies from *Athens* to *Cyprus*, to the aſſiſtance of *Evagoras*, and took them every one.

Here an accident hapned which thwarted both their Deſigns; for the Athenians *being in league with the King, aſſiſted* Evagoras *his Enemy; and though the* Lacedemonians *were at war with the King, yet* Teleutias

Teleutias *deſtroyed thoſe that went to fight againſt him.*

Afterwards *Teleutias* returned to *Cnidus*, and ſold the Prizes, from whence he went to *Rhodes*, and ſuccoured the *Lacedemonian* party. Upon this the *Athenians* fearing the *Lacedemonians* might recover the Soveraignty of the Sea, ſent out *Thraſybulus* the *Styrenſian* with forty Sail of Ships, who put to Sea, but went not to the relief of *Rhodes*; ſuppoſing it would be no eaſie matter for him to infeſt the *Lacedemonian* Allies, who had the Gariſons to protect them by land, and *Teleutias* ready with his Fleet at Sea: Nor could the Allies be ſubdued, becauſe they had Gariſons were ſtronger, and had been victorious. Thereupon he ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, and meeting with no Enemy, thought he could do ſome ſignal piece of Service; for being at firſt inform'd that there was a Rupture between *Amadocus* King of the *Odryſians* and *Seuthes*, Lord of the Seacoaſt of *Thrace*, he made them Friends, and received them into the Alliance, concluding if theſe were at amity, that the *Greek* Cities in *Thrace* would adhere more firmly to the *Athenian* intereſt.

Having ſetled Affairs in ſo good a condition,

dition, and being in amity with the *Aſiatic* Cities, by reaſon of the League between the King and the *Athenians*, he went to *Byzantium*, and ſold the Cuſtoms of thoſe Ships which came from the *Pontus*, and changed the Government of the *Byzantines* from an Ariſtocracy to a Democracy, ſo that the *Byzantines* were not at all concern'd to ſee ſuch numbers of *Athenians* in their City. When he had performed this, and made an Alliance with the *Chalcedonians*, he ſailed out of the *Helleſpont*, and finding all the Towns in *Lesbos*, except *Mitylene*, take part with the *Lacedemonians*, he attackt no place till he had firſt taken four hundred men out of his Fleet at *Mitylene*, and form'd them and the Exiles who had fled thither into a body, and joyn'd them with the ſtouteſt men of the *Mitylenians*: He gave every one of them hopes; To the *Mitylenians*, that if he maſtered the reſt of *Lesbos*, they ſhould command the whole: To the Exiles, that if they aſſiſted him in the recovery of the particular Towns, they would be in a capacity of being reſtored to their own Countries again: To the Seamen, that if they could bring *Lesbos* into the Alliance of the *Athenians*, they ſhould greatly enrich themſelves thereby. When

When he had thus encouraged the men, he drew them up, and marched with them to *Mithymna*: But *Therimachus* Governour of the place for the *Lacedemonians*, underſtanding *Thraſybulus* was coming againſt him, took the Seamen from on board his Ships, together with the *Methymnean* and *Mitylenian* Exiles, and met him at the Frontiers where they had an Engagement, in which *Therimachus* was killed, and a great many ſlain in the purſuit. After this he took ſome Cities by compoſition, but foraged the Country about thoſe which held out, and raiſed pay for his Souldiers out of the Spoyls: From thence he haſtened to *Rhodes*, to levy a ſtrong body of men there, and when he had raiſed Contribution at ſeveral places, he went to *Aſpendus*, and ſailed up the River *Eurymedon* with his Fleet.

He had formerly received money from the *Aſpendians*, and now the Countrymen being injured by the Souldiers, they in a rage fell upon the *Athenians* by night, and killed *Thraſybulus* in his Tent, who ended his days in this manner, having had the reputation of being a good man. The *Athenians* choſe *Argyrius* to ſucceed him in the Fleet.

The

The *Lacedemonians* receiving intelligence that the *Athenians* had ſold the Cuſtoms of the *Pontic* Ships at *Byzantium*, that they were poſſeſt of *Chalcedon*, and that the other Cities on the *Helleſpont* were in a good condition, becauſe *Pharnabazus* was their Ally; thought it was high time to look about them: And altho' they could object nothing againſt *Dercyllidas*, yet *Anaxibius* by favour of the *Ephori* procured himſelf to go Governour of *Abydus*, and undertook, if they would give him a Fleet and pay off his men, to make War with the *Athenians*, after ſuch a rate as ſhould change the face of things in the *Helleſpont*. Hereupon they gave him three Gallies, and Pay for a thouſand Mercenaries, and diſpatched him away: When he arrived he raiſed more Forces, and wreſted ſome of the *Eolic* Towns from *Pharnabazus*, and whilſt he was gone againſt *Abydus* with his own Army and the Forces of the other Cities, *Anaxibius* on the contrary fell upon them, and laid waſt their Territories: Afterwards he fitted out three Ships more at *Abydus*, beſides thoſe he had, and when he took any Ships that belonged either to the *Athenians*, or their Confederates, he carried them in thither.

When

When the *Athenians* received intelligence hereof, they feared he would undo all that *Thraſybulus* had done before in the *Helleſpont*; whereupon they ſent out *Iphicrates* againſt him with eight Sail, and 1200 Targetiers, being moſt of thoſe he commanded at *Corinth*. For the *Argives* having poſſeſt themſelves of *Corinth*, declared they had no occaſion for them, becauſe *Iphicrates* had put ſome to death, who favoured their intereſt; whereupon he return'd home, and lived privately. When he arrived at the *Cherſoneſe*, he and *Anaxibius* ſent out Foragers on both ſides, and with them they carried on the War one with another. A while after *Iphicrates* hearing that *Anaxibius* was gone to *Antandrus* with the *Mercenaries*, *Lacedemonians*, and 200 *Abydenian* heavy-arm'd men, and underſtanding that *Antandrus* had ſurrendred to him, he gueſſed that he would put in a Gariſon there, and return with the *Abydenians*: Whereupon he paſſed over in the Night at a place which was freeſt from the diſcovery of the *Abydenians*, and when he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Hills, he placed an Ambuſh: He commanded alſo the Gallies which tranſported him to cruiſe off the ſhoar by break of day, that they

might ſeem to be going to collect Tribute. Nor was he miſtaken, for though *Anaxibius* had not an auſpicious Sacrifice, yet he departed from *Antandrus*, and deſpiſed the Ceremonies, partly becauſe he marched through a Friends Country, and to a City of the Confederates, partly becauſe he underſtood by thoſe he met, that *Iphicrates* was ſailed back to *Præconneſus*, and therefore marched more careleſly.

Iphicrates did not riſe out of the Ambuſcade whilſt *Anaxibius*'s Army was on even ground, but after the *Abydenians*, which were in the Van, had entred the Plain by *Cremaſtes*, where there were Gold Mines, the reſt of the Army went down the Hill, being followed by *Anaxibius* and the *Lacedemonians:* And then *Iphicrates* riſing up, gave a furious charge upon *Anaxibius*, who when he ſaw that there was no hopes of eſcaping, and that his Army was extended in length and in a ſtrait place, that they could not come up the aſcent of the Hill to his aſſiſtance, being already paſt it, and that all were in a Conſternation by reaſon of the Ambuſcade; he ſaid to thoſe who were near him, Gentlemen, *Here I muſt die, but do ye conſult your own ſafety before you engage*

gage with the Enemy. And when he had ſaid ſo, he took a Shield from his Squire, and fought till he died upon the Spot: His * Page alſo who ſtaid with him, and the 12 *Lacedemonian* Governours which followed him out of the Town, fell together with him; the reſt were ſlain in the purſuit, of the others near 200 were killed; and of the *Abydenian* heavy-arm'd men 50: *Iphicrates* having performed theſe Exploits, return'd to the *Cherſoneſe*.

* He was called τὰ παιδικὰ, or ἐρασὴς, and bred up under ſome great man who was to be an example of vertue to him. So was *Lyſander* under *Ageſilaus*. *Plut.* & *Ubbo Em.*

XENOPHON'S History OF THE Affairs of Greece.

LIB. V.

THE CONTENTS.

Teleutias *a famous General.* Antalcidas *returns from* Perſia *with Articles of Peace, and a Peace is made.* Mantinea *taken, and the Citizens obliged to live in Villages. The* Citadel *of* Thebes *betrayed to the* Lacedemonians, *and recovered.* Teleutias *ſlain at* Olynthus. Ageſipolis *dies. The* Lacedemonians *Power declines. The* Thebans *draw the* Athenians *into the War againſt the* Lacedemonians. Sphodrias *impeached for beginning the War, and acquitted.*

THis was the ſtate of Affairs betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* in the *Helleſpont*: The people of *Ægina* formerly had Commerce, with the *Athenians* till the War broke out; and then *Eteonicus* coming thither with the conſent of the *Ephori*, gave Commiſſions to any that would, to make Depredations in *Attica*. The *Athenians* being in a manner beſieged by the *Ægineans*, ſent a body of heavy-armed men into *Ægina*, under the Command of *Pamphilus*, and blockt them up with a Wall by Land, and ten Gallies by Sea.

Upon the rumour of this Siege, *Teleutias* who was gone to collect Tribute in ſome of the Iſlands, came to relieve the *Ægineans*, and chaſed away the *Athenian* Fleet, though *Pamphilus* ſtill defended his Wall.

98. *Olymp.* *Pyrrhio* *Archon.*

About the ſame time the *Lacedemonians* ſent *Hierax* to be Admiral, who took upon him the Command of the Fleet; and *Teleutias* parted homewards, having diſcharged himſelf with admirable Succeſs in that Imployment: For as he was embarking in order to his return home; he received the Complements of the whole Army, one putting a Garland upon his head,

head, and another a Wreath: They too, who came not time enough, but after he was gone on board, threw their Garlands into the Sea, and wiſhed him a proſperous Voyage.

I confeſs, I have related nothing here that is very obſervable concerning his Liberality, Enterpriſes, or Stratagems, tho' in my opinion the Endearments whereby he gained ſo much upon the affections of his Souldiers deſerved to be conſidered: For this noble quality challenges a more honourable mention, than either the wealth he was poſſeſt of, or the Dangers he engag'd in.

Hierax having left twelve Gallies, and *Gorgopas* his Vice-Admiral Governour of *Ægina*, ſailed with the reſt of the Fleet to *Rhodes*. From this time the *Athenians* in their own Works lookt more like the Beſieged, than thoſe in the Town; whereupon a good Fleet was order'd to be fitted out, and to fetch off their Army the fifth Month of the Siege: after which they were again infeſted by *Gorgopas*, and the Privatiers. Againſt theſe they ſet out thirteen Sail under the Command of *Eunomus*: Whilſt *Hierax* was at *Rhodes*, the *Lacedemonians* ſent *Antalcidas* to command at Sea, thinking thereby they ſhould highly oblige *Teribazus*. *Antalcidas* when

he arrived at *Ægina*, took *Gorgopas*'s Fleet with him, and ſailed to *Epheſus*; ſending *Gorgopas* back again to the former place with ten Sail, and gave the Command of the reſt to *Nicolochus* his Vice-Admiral, who went from thence with Succors to the *Abydenians*, and directing his Courſe to *Tenedos*, deſtroyed the Country, and having raiſed Contribution ſailed to *Abydus*.

The *Athenian* Generals from *Samothracia*, *Thaſus*, and the adjacent places, came together to relieve the *Tenedians*; but being certified that *Nicolochus* was gone to *Abydus*, they ſet out of the *Cherſoneſe* with two and thirty Sail of Ships, and blockt him up with his Fleet of five and twenty.

In the mean while *Gorgopas* parted from *Epheſus*, and meeting with *Eunomus*, the former whereof ran into *Ægina*, a little before Sun-ſet, and put his men aſhoar, ordering them to ſup. *Eunomus* having made a ſhort ſtay there, ſet ſail. The night coming on he went a-head of the Fleet, and as the cuſtom is, hung out his Lights, that the Ships a-ſtern might not miſtake their way: Thereupon *Gorgopas* put his men on board immediately, and followed the Lights at a diſtance, that he might not

be

be diſcovered, nor give notice to the Enemy: the Pilots alſo uſed a noiſe made with Stones, and the ſtrokes of the Oars, inſtead of the Voice. Whilſt *Eunomus* lay with his Fleet under the ſhoar near *Cape Zoſter* in *Attica*; *Gorgopas* commanded the Trumpets to ſound, and an Attack to be made: At this time ſome of *Eunomus*'s men were newly gone aſhoar, ſome putting into Harbour, and others ſtill out at Sea: The Fight was by Moon-light, and in it *Gorgopas* took four Sail, which he laſht faſt to his own Ships, and towed them to *Ægina*; the reſt of the *Athenian* Fleet run into the *Piræus*.

About this time *Chabrias* went to *Cyprus* to the aſſiſtance of *Evagoras*, with ten Sail, and eight hundred Targetiers; beſides which he took ſome more Ships and Heavy-arm'd men from *Athens*, and making a deſcent in the Night upon *Ægina*, placed his Targetiers in Ambuſcade in an hollow beyond the Temple of *Hercules*: At Day-break the *Athenian* Heavy-arm'd men led by *Demænetus*, came according to agreement, and marched up about ſixteen Furlongs beyond the Temple to the * *Tripyrgia*. *Gorgopas* having Intelligence hereof, came with the *Æginеans*, Sea-men, and the eight *Spartan* Com-

* A place called from its three Towers.

Commiſſioners, to fight the Enemy; and commanded Proclamation to be made, That thoſe Seamen who were Freemen, ſhould come to his aſſiſtance; whereupon ſeveral getting ſuch Arms as they could light on, joyn'd him: After the Van had paſſed the Ambuſh, *Chabrias*'s men roſe up on a ſudden, darting their Lances and throwing their Javelins: By this time the heavy-armed men from on board the Ships were come up, but the advanc'd Guard of the Enemy being not in a cloſe body, were ſoon cut in pieces, and amongſt them *Gorgopas* and the *Lacedemonians*: when theſe fell, the reſt fled, and a hundred and fifty *Ægineans* were ſlain; of the Mercenaries, Foreigners and Seamen, that ſtragled, there were no leſs than two hundred killed.

From that time the *Athenians* had an undiſturbed Navigation as in time of Peace, for the Seamen would not obey *Eteonicus*, nor enter the Enemies Country, though he preſſed them, becauſe they were not payd. Thereupon the *Lacedemonians* ſent *Teleutias* again to command their Fleet, at whoſe coming the Seamen were tranſported with joy; when he called them together, he made this Speech to them.

I am

I am come hither (Fellow Souldiers) without money, yet by the favour of Heaven, and your diligence, I'le endeavour to procure you plenty of all Neceſſaries: For aſſure your ſelves, that whilſt you are under my command, your welfare is as dear to me as my own life. Perhaps you all wonder at me, for ſaying, that I had rather you ſhould be provided with Neceſſaries, than my ſelf: I take Heaven to witneſs, that I had rather want Bread my ſelf two days, than that you ſhould want it one. My door was formerly open to every one that asked any thing of me, and ſo it ſhall be for the future. When you are better ſtored with Proviſions, you ſhall then ſee me live more plentifully. If you ſee me endure cold, heat, and watching: aſſure your ſelves, that you muſt do ſo too. Nor do I command you theſe things, as if I delighted to puniſh you, but that you may make an advantage of them: Take for your example our Republick *which is in ſo flouriſhing a condition, yet arrived not to this felicity by ſloth, but by a voluntary engagement in the fatigue and dangers of War, when ever occaſion ſerved. To my knowledge you have heretofore been gallant men, but now ſtrive to approve your ſelves yet braver, that we may contentedly better reliſh together the Advantages ariſing from our*

Teleutias's Speech to his Souldiers.

our labours: For what can be greater ſatisfaction, than not to be obliged to fawn on any Greek *or* Barbarian *for Pay; but to be able of our ſelves to procure Neceſſaries, from whence they may be moſt honourably obtained? For certainly large Contributions from the Enemy in time of War, not only ſupply you with Proviſions, but gain you Reputation throughout the World.*

When he had ended his Speech, the whole Army with a loud Acclamation bid him command them any Service whatſoever, and they would obey: After he had Sacrificed, he ſpoke to them again.

Come (fellow Souldiers) take the Supper you intended, and one Days Proviſions; then go on board forthwith, that we may bend our courſe whither Heaven directs, and arrive opportunely.

As ſoon as they were aſſembled he put them on board, and at Night ſailed to the Port of *Athens*, ſometimes refreſhing the Rowers, and ordering them to repoſe themſelves; other-whiles inſpecting them. If any one thinks he did imprudently in attempting a ſtrong Fleet with twelve Ships, let him firſt conſider his Reaſons: He thought the *Athenians* were careleſs of their Fleet, becauſe it lay in Harbour, and

and bacauſe *Gorgopas* was ſlain; and tho' there were Guard-Ships, yet he ſuppoſed it leſs hazardous to attack twenty at *Athens*, than ten elſewhere: For he knew that the Seamen lay on board the Ships which were abroad, but that the Captains lay in their own houſes in *Athens*, and the Seamen were diſperſt up and down. Upon theſe reaſons he ſet Sail, and when he came within five or ſix Furlongs of the Port, he lay ſtill, and refreſhed awhile: By break of Day he ſtood into the Port with the reſt of the Fleet, and then he gave Orders to the Ships, that they ſhould neither deſtroy, nor ſink any of the *Merchant-men, but laſh thoſe faſt that were loaden, and tow them out, to diſable any Gallies they ſaw upon the Guard, to board the biggeſt Veſſels, and to take all the men they could: Accordingly ſome leaping into the *Digma*, ſeized the Merchants, and Maſters of Ships, and haled them on board.

* στρογγύλαι. The Merchant-men were round built, and the Men of War of a longiſh form. *Sch. Thucyd. ad lib.* 2.

Whilſt *Teleutias* was employed about this Action, thoſe in *Athens* hearing of it, came running out to ſee what was the occaſion of the Alarm; thoſe out of the Town haſtned, ſome to get Arms, and others with the News to the City. All the *Athenians*, both heavy-armed men and

* A place where the Samples of Goods were ſhewn.

and Horſe came with Succours, as if the *Piræus* had been taken. In the mean while *Teleutias* ſent his Ships to *Ægina*, and commanded three or four Gallies to be carried thither with them, whilſt he with the reſt coaſted along *Attica*, and when he was got clear of the Port, he took a great many Fiſher-boats & Paſſage-boats full of men, as they came from the *Iſlands*.

Then coming to *Sunium*, he took ſeveral Barges loaden with Corn, and others with Merchandiſe: After this he went to *Ægina*, and ſelling the Prizes, he gave every Seaman a Months Pay advance, whereby he kept the Ships well manned, and the men wholly at his devotion. After that he cruiſed about, and took a great many Prizes.

About this time *Antalcidas* return'd out of *Aſia* with *Teribazus*, having prevailed with the King to joyn the *Lacedemonians*, if the *Athenians* and their Confederates would not accept the Peace which he propoſed: But when he heard that *Nicolochus* was blockt up at *Abydus* by *Iphicrates* and *Diotimus*, he went thither by Land, and from thence put to Sea with the Fleet at Night, ſpreading a Report as if the *Chalcedonians* had ſent for him, and entring the Harbour at *Percope*, lay ſtill there.

there. * The *Athenian* Admirals having Intelligence of his deſign, gave him Chaſe to *Præconneſus*; but *Antalcidas* after they had paſſed by him, hearing that *Polyxenus* was coming with twenty Sail from the *Syracuſians* and *Italians*, returned back again to *Abydus* to joyn him.

* *Demænetus, Dionyſius, Leontichus, Phanias.*

About the ſame time *Thraſybulus Colyttenſis* ſet ſail with eight Ships from *Thrace*, intending to joyn the reſt of the *Athenian* Fleet: but the Scout making his ſign to *Antalcidas*, that eight Gallies were coming that way; he cauſed twelve of the beſt Sailers to be manned out, commanding them if they had not their Complement to take men out of the reſt of the Fleet, and to lie in wait for them as ſecretly as they could; when they were paſſed by, he gave them chaſe: As ſoon as the *Athenians* ſaw them, they run; but the Enemies Ships ſailing well, ſoon fetcht upon them being dull ones. Whereupon *Antalcidas* commanded the Van of his Fleet not to attack the ſternmoſt Ships, but to chaſe thoſe a-head: When they were taken, and the ſternmoſt ſaw thoſe a-head were ſeized, they deſponded, and were maſtered by the Rear of *Antalcidas*'s Fleet; and thus all were taken: But after *Antalcidas* had joyned the twenty Sail from

from *Syracuſe*, and ſome others from that part of *Ionia*, which was in the Province of *Teribazus*, and more from the Government of *Ariobarzanes*, with whom he had contracted an Alliance of Hoſpitality, (it being about the time that the King of *Perſia* ſent for *Pharnabazus*, and gave him his Daughter in marriage;) he had a Fleet of above eighty ſail, wherewith he Lorded it over the Sea, prohibiting the *Pontic* Ships from ſailing to *Athens*, whither they were bound, and * obliged them to go into the Ports of the Confederates.

* κατῆγε.

The *Athenians* ſeeing the Enemy had a powerful Fleet, that the King had joyn'd the *Lacedemonians*, and the Capers of *Ægina* blocked them up, feared they ſhould be ſubdued as they were before, and therefore they earneſtly deſired a Peace. In like manner, the *Lacedemonians* keeping one Regiment in Garriſon at *Lechæum*, and another at *Orchomenus*, to defend the Cities that were faithful from being deſtroyed, as alſo to prevent thoſe they ſuſpected from revolting, and having a powerful Diverſion at *Corinth*, grew ſick of the War. The *Argives* likewiſe underſtanding that an Army was to be ſent againſt them, and knowing that their former Pretexts would fail them, became inclinable to a Peace.

Theodotus Archon.

Peace. Whereupon *Teribazus* ſummoned thoſe that would comply with the Propoſals of Peace ſent by the King: when they came together and were aſſembled, *Teribazus* ſhew'd them the Kings Seal, and read the Inſtrument, which run thus: Artaxerxes *King of* Perſia *is of opinion, that he has a juſt Title to the* Aſiatic *Towns; as alſo to the Iſlands* Clazomenæ *and* Cyprus; *That the reſt of the* Greek *Cities both greater and leſſer ought to be free, except* Lemnos, Imbros, *and* Scirus, *which anciently belonged to the* Athenians, *and are ſtill to remain in their poſſeſſion; whoever will not accept of theſe Conditions, I and the Allies will make War upon them with all our Forces both by Sea and Land.*

The Articles of Peace brought by *Antalcidas* from the King of *Perſia.*

* It was afterwards annext to the main Land. *Strab.*

The Ambaſſadors made their Report hereof to their reſpective Communities, and at length all obliged themſelves by Oath to confirm the Peace; Only the *Thebans* would ratifie it in the Name of the reſt of the *Bæotians:* but *Ageſilaus* refuſed to accept their Oath, unleſs they would ſwear according to the Tenour of the Kings Letters; which was, that the leſſer as well as greater Cities ſhould be ſet free. The *Theban* Ambaſſadors replyed, The Letters were not directed to them: Go then (ſaid *Ageſilaus*) and conſult your

Maſters about it; and tell them moreover, that if they will not accept theſe Propoſals, they ſhall be excluded the League. After their departure, *Ageſilaus* out of hatred to the *Thebans*, loſt no time, but moved the *Ephori* againſt them, and immediately Sacrificed; when having ſigns of a proſperous Expedition, he marcht to *Tegea*, and from thence ſent the Horſe to the neighbouring places; as alſo the Commanders of the Mercenaries to haſten their Conjunction of the Army: But before he moved from *Tegea*, the *Thebans* arrived, and ſignified that they would reſtore the Cities to their Liberties. Whereupon the *Lacedemonians* returned home, and the *Thebans* were obliged to make Peace, allowing the *Bœotian* Towns their own Laws: Nevertheleſs the *Corinthians* did not diſmiſs their Gariſon of *Argives*; upon which *Ageſilaus* threatned the one, that if they did not diſcharge the *Argives*, and the others, that if they did not quit *Corinth*, he would treat them as Enemies. Both being frighted herewith, the Armies departed the Town, and the City of *Corinth* was reſtored to its liberty. The Murderers and thoſe that were conſcious to themſelves that they were concerned in the Maſſacre, departed, and the reſt of the Citizens

Citizens very willingly received thoſe formerly baniſhed. Hereupon the reſpective Communities ſwore to obſerve the Articles of Peace ſent by the King; and the Land together with the Naval Forces were disbanded.

This was the firſt Peace, that was made between the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, and their Allies ſince the Walls of *Athens* were demoliſhed. *And though the* Lacedemonians *did in a manner ballance the power of the Enemies during the War, yet they gained themſelves a great deal of Reputation from that called the* Antalcidean *Peace, which the King of* Perſia *propoſed.* For they being *Guarrantees* of it, reſtored the Cities to their Liberty, made *Corinth* their Ally, and, as they formerly deſired, freed the *Bœotian* Towns from the Juriſdiction of the *Thebans*. Beſides they obliged the *Argives* to quit their Pretenſions to *Corinth*, and decreed to ſend an Army againſt them, unleſs they abandoned the Place.

When Affairs ſucceeded thus according to their deſires; they reſolved to revenge themſelves on thoſe Allies, who, during the War, had inclined more to the Intereſt of the Enemy than theirs; and for the future to make ſuch Proviſion, as that *Myſtichides Archon.*

it ſhould not lie in their power to prove falſe. Firſt, therefore they ſent to the *Mantineans*, commanding them to demoliſh their Walls, and telling them that unleſs they did, they could not believe but that they favoured their Enemies; adding they had Intelligence, that they ſent the *Argives* Proviſions, who were at War with them, and that at other times they would not joyn them, but pretended a Truce, and when they did, they did them but ill Service. Moreover they perceived, that they envied their Succeſs, and were much pleaſed at any misfortune that befel them.

* This Truce was made the XIV year of the *Peloponn.* War, *Thucyd. Lib. V. Dexitheus Archon.*

Beſides the * XXX years Truce made after the Battel of *Mantinea* expired this Year. The *Argives* refuſed to demoliſh their Walls, and thereupon an Army was ſent againſt them. *Ageſilaus* requeſted the States to excuſe him this Expedition, affirming that the *Mantineans* had done his Father very good Service in the *Meſſenian* War. Hereupon *Ageſipolis* led the Army, though his Father *Pauſanias* had a good underſtanding with the Chief men of *Mantinea*. He entred the Countrey and burnt it, but yet when the *Mantineans* did not demoliſh their Walls for all this, he drew a Line of Circumvallation

tion about the Town, carrying on the Works with one half of the Army, and defending thoſe that were employed about them with the other. After the Lines were finiſhed, he encompaſſed the Town about with a Wall, without any loſs: but when he underſtood, that it was well ſtored with Proviſions, the former having been a plentiful Year, thinking 'twould be an hard caſe to wear out the Army, and Allies with a long Expedition, he dammed up a large River that ran through the Town, and ſtopping its courſe, raiſed it above the Foundations of the Walls, and Houſes: Whereupon the lowermoſt Bricks being moiſtned, yielded under the uppermoſt, and the Wall cracking leaned; upon that the *Mantineans* propped it up with Wood, and made a Work to prevent the Tower from falling. But when they ſaw they were overpowred by the Water, fearing the Wall would drop down quite round, whereby they ſhould eaſily fall into the Enemie's hands, they conſented to demoliſh it. But the *Lacedemonians* would hearken to no Terms, unleſs they would conſent to live in Villages. The *Mantineans* ſeeing themſelves neceſſitated yielded to their Conditions. They that favoured

the *Argives*, and Chief men apprehended, they ſhould ſuffer death, but *Pauſanias* prevailed with his Son *Ageſipolis* for ſixty of them to depart the Town with ſafe Conduct. The *Lacedemonians* ſtood on both ſides from the Gates with their Pikes to view them as they marcht out, and though they hated the *Mantineans*, yet the Private Soldiers forbore them with much more moderation, than the Officers of the *Mantineans* would have done; which I have mentioned as a teſtimony of great Obedience to their Commanders.

From this time the Walls were pulled down, and *Mantinea* divided into four Parts, being inhabited as in former times. The People were troubled at firſt, becauſe they were obliged to pull down their Houſes, and build others anew. Yet they became well ſatisfied with the change, being nearer their Eſtates, which lay juſt by the Villages, being governed by an Ariſtocracy, and delivered from the oppreſſing Demagogues; ſo that when the *Lacedemonians* ſent an Officer to each Village to raiſe men, they came into the Service with more readineſs, than when they were governed by a Democracy. Theſe were the Tranſactions at *Mantinea*. *By which others may learn not to draw*

Rivers

Rivers through the Walls of their Cities.

The *Phliaſian* Exiles obſerving that the *Lacedemonians* took an Account of all the Allies bevaviour towards them in the War, and ſuppoſing they had now a fair opportunity in their hands, went to *Lacedemon*, and repreſented, that whilſt they enjoyed their Countrey, their City both received the *Lacedemonians*, and followed them in all their Expeditions. But after they were expulſt, the reſt would ſerve the *Lacedemonians* in no capacity, they of all men being excluded their City: When the *Ephori* heard this, they thought it a matter worthy their conſideration, and ſent a Meſſage to the Community of the *Phliaſians* to let them know that the Exiles were well affected to the Republick of the *Lacedemonians*, and that they were unjuſtly baniſhed; as alſo to deſire that they might be reſtored with their Conſent and not by Force. This put the *Phliaſians* in a fear, leſt ſome in the Town ſhould let in the *Lacedemonians* if they appeared before it with an Army. Moreover apprehending that there were ſeveral of the Exile's Relations in the Town, with others that favoured their Party; and (as in moſt Republicks) ſome young *Olymp.* 99. *Diotrephes Archon.*

men diſpoſed to a change, and for recalling the baniſhed men; they decreed that the Exiles ſhould be readmitted, and ſuch of their Goods reſtored, as were not ſold, and thoſe that were ſhould be made good out of the Publick Treaſury; and if any Controverſie ſhould ariſe amongſt them, it ſhould be decided by Law. Thus the Affair about the *Phliaſian* Exiles was adjuſted at that time.

Soon after there came Ambaſſadors to *Lacedemon* from *Acanthus*, and *Apollonia*, which were the greateſt Cities near *Olynthus*. When the *Ephori* underſtood their Errand, they introduced them to the Aſſembly, and Confederates, where *Cligenes* the *Acanthian* made this Speech.

Clygenes's Speech.

I ſuppoſe (My Lords of *Lacedemon*, and you the Allies) *that there is now a growing Miſchief in* Greece, *of which you have not yet taken notice. Moſt of you know that* Olynthus *is the greateſt City in* Thrace, *the Inhabitants whereof have drawn ſome Towns into their Alliance, upon Terms to enjoy the ſame Laws, and live in the ſame Community. They have united ſome of the more conſiderable Cities, and attempted to wreſt the* Macedonian *Towns from the Allegiance of* Amyntas *their King: Upon the coming in of the Neighbouring*

bouring Places, they ſoon proceeded to thoſe more remote, and bigger: Amongſt ſeveral other Cities we left them poſſeſt of Pella, *which is far the greateſt of any in* Macedon. *Since, we underſtand that* Amyntas *abandons his Towns, and may be ſaid to be only not diſpoſſeſt of all his Countrey. The* Olynthians *ſent, to us, and the* Apollonians, *a threatning Meſſage, how that if we joyned them not, they would turn their Arms upon us. We deſire* (My Lords) *to enjoy our own Laws, and live under our own Government; but if none will aſſiſt us, we muſt of neceſſity aſſociate. They have no leſs than eight hundred Heavy-armed men, of Targetiers a greater number, and if we joyn with them, they will make above a thouſand Horſe. Beſides, we left the* Athenian, *and* Bœotian *Ambaſſadors there, and we heard that the* Olynthians *had decreed to ſend theirs, to treat of a League Offenſive, and Defenſive with theſe Confederate Cities: if therefore the* Athenians, *and* Thebans *gain ſuch an Acceſſion of Strength, beware they prove not too many for you. Moreover, ſeeing they are poſſeſſed of* Potidæa *on the* Iſthmus *of* Pallene, *it's certain that thoſe Towns which are within it, will fall into their hands. The Conſternation thoſe Cities are in may be a*

ſufficient

ſufficient Demonſtration thereof; who though they bear an inveterate hatred to the Olynthians, *yet durſt not ſend their Ambaſſadors with us to repreſent the State of their Affairs. Again, conſider with your ſelves, how can you in probability prevent all* Bœotia, *from Aſſociating; when you regard not the Conjunction of a greater force, that gathers ſtrength ſo faſt both by Sea, and Land. What can hinder them? they have Timber enough in their own Countrey for Shipping. They can't want Money, for they have Cuſtoms from their Ports and Towns of Mart, their Plenty alſo makes them Populous. Beſides all this, the* Thracians *who are their Neighbours, and not under a Kingly Government, do now careſs them. And if they be ſubdued by them, this alſo will be a formidable addition to their Power; and if all theſe Deſigns ſucceed, the Gold Mines at* Pangæus *muſt of neceſſity follow. I'll mention nothing now, but what is the common talk of the Town. What need I tell you of their haughty Minds? their Spirit, and Ambition, who can expreſs?* Perhaps God and Nature have ſo contrived man, that as our Fortune, ſo our aſpiring Humor ſhould alſo riſe. *We* (My Lords) *have faithfully repreſented to you*

the

the State of Affairs, and now 'tis your part to conſider whether they be worthy your regard or not. This I muſt not forget to tell you too, that their Power indeed is great, yet it is not ſo formidable as you need fear to grapple with. The Towns which were forct into the Confederacy, when they ſee a Power on foot will ſoon fly off again. But if once they be linkt together with inter-marriages, and Commerce (which they have made a Law to encourage) and ſhall apprehend how advantagious it is to follow the Victor (as the *Arcadians*, who whilſt they ſided with you, both ſaved themſelves, and plundered others) *perhaps it will be no eaſie matter to diſſolve their Union.*

After this Speech, the *Lacedemonians* gave the Confederates leave to ſpeak, exhorting every one of them to offer what they thought would be moſt adviſeable in this Conjuncture for the *Peloponneſians*, and Allies. Thereupon ſeveral propoſed a War, eſpecially thoſe that would ingratiate with the *Lacedemonians*: ſo it was reſolved to ſend to the reſpective Cities a liſt of ten thouſand men to be raiſed. 'Twas debated too, that thoſe Towns, which would contribute Money inſtead of men might; provided they paid three *Æginean* 6 *d.* ¼. *Phanoſtratus Archon.*

ginean Oboli for each man, and that if any ſet out Horſe, each Trooper ſhould have the pay of four Heavy-armed men. Moreover if any of the Towns declined the Service, it ſhould be lawful for the *Lacedemonians* to mulct them one *Stater* a day for every man.

15 s. 7 d. ob.

After they had thus reſolved, the *Acanthians* roſe up again; and ſhewed that theſe were good Decrees, yet could not be quickly put in Execution. Declaring it would be better whilſt theſe Levies were making, that a General, and what Forces could be raiſed on a ſuddain in *Lacedemon*, and other Places ſhould march forthwith; for hereby thoſe Cities which were not yet aſſociated would remain firm, and ſuch as were forced into the Alliance, would be colder in their Aſſiſtance. This being agreed on, the *Lacedemonians* ſent out about two thouſand of the Half-Slaves, Neighbouring People, and *Sciritæ*. *Eudamidas*, when he began his march, entreated the *Ephori*, that his Brother *Phœbidas* ſhould aſſemble the Forces he had raiſed, but left behind, and follow him.

A Band of choſen men which fought by the King, *Diod. Sic. b. XV.*

When he arrived in *Thrace*, he ſent Gariſons to thoſe Towns which deſired them, and took *Potidæa* one of the Aſſociated Towns upon ſurrender. This

place

place he made the Seat of War, and managed it as well as could be expected from the ſmall force he had. In the mean while *Phœbidas* aſſembling the Forces that *Eudamidas* left behind, marched with them; and when he arrived at *Thebes*, he encamped without the City by the Artillery ground. At that time *Iſmenias* and *Leontiades* being chief * Magiſtrates, there were Diviſions among the people, they bearing one another a mutual hatred, and being the leading men of their Factions; *Iſmenias* out of ſpight to the *Lacedemonians*, would not go near *Phœbidas*; on the other hand, *Leontiades* careſſed him, and becoming familiar, diſcourſt him thus:

* Πολέμαρχοι. There were two of them.

This very day, Phœbidas, *it lies in your power to do your Country a ſignal piece of Service; for if you will follow me with your Heavy-armed men, I will bring you into the Citadel; and when this is done, aſſure your ſelf* Thebes *will be wholly at the Devotion of the* Lacedemonians, *and us your Friends: You ſee it has been decreed, that no* Theban *ſhould follow you to the* Olynthian *Wars; but if you will joyn with us in this Deſign, we will ſend a ſtrong Supply of Heavy-armed men and Horſe, that you may hereby re-inforce your Brother with*

with a very conſiderable body of men; and whilſt he is reducing Olynthus, *you way poſſeſs your ſelves of* Thebes, *which is far the greater City.*

When *Phœbidas* heard this, he was hugely tranſported, for he loved the performance of a noble Enterprize more than life it ſelf, though he never had the Reputation of a prudent and thinking man. After it was concluded on, *Leontiades* bid him march forward, as though he was preparing for his Voyage; and when it is time, ſaid he, I will come and Conduct you my ſelf. The Senate was ſitting at that time in the Porch of the Market-place, becauſe the Women kept the Feaſt of *Ceres* in the Citadel, and the Streets were thin (it being Summer-time, and the heat of the day) when *Leontiades rode* after *Phœbidas*, and calling him back, led him directly to the Citadel, where having poſted *Phœbidas* and his men, he delivered him the Keys of the Gates, adviſing him to let none enter without his Order. From thence he went ſtrait to the Senate, and being come thither, ſpake thus:

My Lords, Be not diſheartned, though the Lacedemonians *are poſſeſt of the Citadel; for they declare they come not to any in an hoſtile manner, but ſuch as love hoſtility.*

ſtility. I ſeize this Iſmenias *for levying of War purſuant to the Law, which authorizes the chief Magiſtrate to apprehend any perſon ſuſpected of Treaſon: Ye Captains, and thoſe under your Command, riſe, take him and commit him to ſafe Cuſtody.*

They that were privy to the Deſign drawing near, obey'd, and laid hold on *Iſmenias*, the others that knew nothing of the matter, and were Enemies to *Leontiades*'s Faction, immediately left the Town, fearing they ſhould be put to death, the reſt having retired home before. After they underſtood that *Iſmenias* was committed to the *Tower*, thoſe that were of his and *Androclides*'s Faction, being about four hundred, fled to *Athens*. Upon this they choſe another chief Magiſtrate inſtead of *Iſmenias*. *Leontiades* went immediately to *Lacedemon*, where he found the *Ephori*, and people much offended at *Phœbidas* for having acted without Orders. In whoſe defence *Ageſilaus* pleaded, that if he had done any thing in prejudice of the State, he ought to be puniſhed; but if good Service, he by their ancient Laws might do ſuch things without Commiſſion: You ought therefore, ſaid he, to conſider, whether, what he has done be for your Intereſt, or not. When *Leontiades*'s

Leontiades came to the General Assembly, he made this Speech.

Leontides's Speech.

My Lords of Lacedemon, *You your selves confess, that the* Thebans *were disposed to a War before these Transactions; you perceivod too, that they always favoured your Enemies and hated your Friends: They would not assist you against the people in the* Piræus *that made so fierce opposition against you; yet they made War upon the* Phoceans, *only because they were well affected towards you: Nay when they understood that you employed your Arms against the* Olynthians, *they made an Alliance with them, and you continually expected to hear that they had reduced* Bœotia. *Now since Affairs stand thus, you need not have any apprehensions of the* Thebans; *one short private Letter will be sufficient to render every thing there agreeable to your desires, Provided you will as cordially espouse our Interest as we do yours.*

When the *Lacedemonians* heard this, they decreed that as the Citadel had been surprized, so it should be kept; and that *Ismenias* should be brought to his Tryal. Soon after they sent three Judges of the *Lacedemonians*, and of the Confederates one from each City both small and great.

The

The Judges being ſat, *Iſmenias* was indicted for holding Correſpondence with the *Barbarians*, and for contracting a Friendſhip with the *Perſian*, which was out of no good deſign to *Greece*; and for ſharing of the Money ſent by the King, and for being together with *Androclides* the chief Fomenter of all the Troubles in *Greece*. To all this he pleaded, yet could not clear himſelf from being thought an Enterprizer of great Deſigns, and thoſe not very good ones; ſo he was condemned and executed. Hereupon *Leontiades*'s Party being poſſeſſed of the City, were more obſervant of the *Lacedemonians*, than was expected from them.

After this the *Lacedemonians* purſued the War againſt the *Olynthians* more vigorouſly, and ſent *Teleutias* General, iſſuing out Orders for the raiſing an Army of ten thouſand men, and directed their Letters to the Confederate Towns, commanding them to follow *Teleutias* in the Expedition purſuant to the Decree of the Allies. Wherefore amongſt others that freely offered their Service to him, (being a perſon no ways ungrateful to thoſe that ſerv'd under him) the City of *Thebes* ſent him, being the Brother of *Ageſilaus* both Heavy-arm'd men and Horſe.

He made no extraordinary haſt, but took all poſſible care that the Army might do their Friends no harm in their march; and to raiſe as great Forces as he poſſibly could, he alſo diſpatched a Meſſage before to *Amyntas*, requiring him to hire ſome Mercenaries, and diſtribute money amongſt the Kings his Neighbours, if ſo be he had any thoughts of recovering his Kingdom. Beſides he ſent to *Derdas* Prince of *Elimea*, to let him know that the *Olynthians* had already ſubdued the greater Monarchy, which was that of *Macedone*; nor would they forbear a leſſer, unleſs their Inſolence were checkt.

When he had diſpatcht theſe Affairs, and drawn a very powerful Army together, he marched to the Frontiers of the Confederates, and arriving at *Potidæa*, made a general Muſter, and entred the Enemies Country. But when he advanced towards *Olynthus*, he neither burned nor deſtroyed any thing, ſuppoſing if he took any ſuch courſe, it would hinder him both in his March and Retreat; yet it would do well to cut down the Trees when he retired from the Walls of the City, and thereby divert the Enemy from falling on his Rear. As ſoon as he came within leſs than ten Furlongs of the City,

he

he halted, leading the left Wing himſelf; the other Body of the Confederates being placed in the right: For ſo it hapned, that he marched towards the Gate, at which the Enemy went out. The *Lacedemonian*, and *Theban* Horſe together with the *Macedonians*, he placed in the right, keeping *Derdas* with his four hundred Horſe near him: partly becauſe he admired theſe Troops, and partly to ſhew reſpect to *Derdas*, thereby to oblige him the more to the Service.

Afterwards the Enemy ſallying out of the Town, drew up under the Walls, and marſhalling their Horſe in a cloſe Body, charged the *Lacedemonians* and *Bœotians*, and beating *Polycharmus* General of the *Lacedemonian* Cavalry of his Horſe, gave him a great many wounds as he lay on the ground, and killed ſome others. At laſt the Horſe in the right were routed, and they flying the Foot that were next them gave ground, ſo that the whole Army was in danger of being defeated, had not *Derdas* advanced with his Horſe to the Gates of the City, and *Teleutias* ſeconded him with his Troops in good order: which when the *Olynthian* Cavalry perceived, they faced about, and retreated with great diligence, fearing they ſhould be cut off from the Gates.

Derdas killed a great many of their Horſe as they paſſed by him, but the Infantry being near the Walls, retired back into the Town without much loſs.

Teleutias having obtained this Advantage, erected a Trophy, cut down the Trees, and retreated, disbanding the *Macedonian* Troops, and thoſe of *Derdas* at the end of the Campagn. Nevertheleſs the *Olynthians* making ſeveral Incurſions into the Territories of the *Lacedemonian* Confederates, ravaged the Country, and killed the Inhabitants.

Menander Archon.

Early in the Spring near ſix hundred of the *Olynthian* Horſe over-ran the Country about *Apollonia* at Mid-day, and foraged in ſmall Parties. The ſame day *Derdas* arrived with his Cavalry, and Dined there. When he ſaw the Inroad he lay ſtill, having the Horſes in readineſs and their Riders armed: But the *Olynthians* advancing to the Suburbs and Gates of the Town in contempt of him; he went out againſt them with a body of men: As ſoon as they diſcovered him, they fell to flight, and he having put them once to the rout, gave not over purſuing and ſlaying for ninety Furlongs together, and followed them up to the Walls of *Olynthus*. 'Twas reported, that *Derdas* killed eighty of their Cavalry in this Action:

Action; and from this time the Enemy kept themſelves within their Walls, tilling but little ground.

Some time after *Teleutias* moved to the Walls of *Olynthus*, deſtroying every Tree, and all the ground that was tilled. On the contrary, the *Olynthian* Horſe going out and marching gently, paſſed the River that ran by the Town, and advanced ſlowly towards the Enemy. *Teleutias* ſeeing them, was provoked by their boldneſs, and ordered *Tlemonidas*, who commanded the Targetiers, inſtantly to charge them with full ſpeed: When the *Olynthians* diſcovered them running before the reſt of the Army, they faced about, and making a gentle Retreat repaſſed the River. The *Lacedemonians* followed them very boldly, and as they retreated, the others purſued, and paſſed the River, after them. The *Olynthian* Horſe thinking they could maſter thoſe that were already come over, faced about, and charged them, killing *Tlemonides*, with above a hundred more: When *Teleutias* ſaw it, he was enraged, and taking up his Arms again, he inſtantly drew out the Heavy-arm'd men, and commanded the Targetiers and Horſe to purſue without any intermiſſion. Hereby it hapned,

that as ſeveral indiſcreetly followed the Enemy too near the Wall, they came ſhort home; for they being ſhot at from the Turrets, were forced to retire in diſorder, and defend themſelves from the Arrows. The *Olynthians* being ſupported with a body of Targetiers charged with their Horſe; and at length the Heavy-arm'd men run out, and attacked the diſordered Troops of the Enemy. In this Skirmiſh, *Teleutias* died fighting; which when thoſe near him ſaw, they gave ground; nor did the reſt ſtand any longer, but were totally routed; ſome flying to *Spartolus*, others to *Acanthus*, ſome to *Apollonia*, and moſt of them to *Potidæa*. Thus as they fled ſeveral ways diſperſedly; ſo the Enemy purſuing them in ſmall bodies, killed abundance, and thoſe too the flower of that great Army.

From theſe Accidents men may learn this general Inſtruction; Not to correct Servants in their paſſion: for ſometimes they have ſuffered more themſelves in their Commotions, than what they have inflicted upon others. And to attack an Enemy rather in a rage, than upon mature deliberation, is the moſt unpardonable fault in the World. Paſſion is inconſiderate, but Reaſon is no leſs circumſpect to ſecure it ſelf, than to annoy an Enemy.

When

When the *Lacedemonians* received News of this Diſaſter, they reſolved to ſend a conſiderable Force to take down the Pride of the Victors, and not to make a fruitleſs Expedition as the former was. They made a Decree, and ſent King *Ageſipolis* to be their General, with thirty Commiſſioners, as they had done before to *Ageſilaus*, when he marcht into *Aſia*. Many of the Neighbouring people who were valiant men, went Voluntiers, and ſeveral of the Mercenaries that were bred in the Service, as alſo the Natural Sons of the *Spartans* that were comely men, and had been educated in the *Spartan* Diſcipline; ſeveral Voluntiers too went out of the Confederate Towns; amongſt which were ſome *Theſſalian* Horſe, who had a deſire to ſignalize themſelves before *Ageſipolis*: *Amyntas* and *Derdas* likewiſe purſued the War now more vigorouſly than formerly: At that time *Ageſipolis* having got his Army together marched to *Olynthus*.

Demophilus Archon.

Τερπνοί, ſo Τερπνοί, ἢ ἡδεῖς λόγων, for ſtudious men. *Præm. ad Ex. de leg. Hiſt. Byz.*

In the mean while the *Phliaſian* Republick having been commended by *Ageſipolis* for contributing ſo largely, and readily to the carrying on of the War; and ſuppoſing, that whilſt he was abroad, *Ageſilaus* would not come againſt them;

nor that both Kings would leave *Sparta* at the ſame time; treated the recalled Exiles very rudely, and contrary to all juſtice: For the baniſhed men prayed that their Caſes might be heard at an indifferent Tribunal: but they compelled the Exiles to try them in their own City, and though they pleaded that no juſtice could be expected there, where the ſame were Judges and Parties too; yet for all this they had no hearing.

After that the recalled Exiles being accompanied with ſeveral others from home, went to *Lacedemon*, and accuſed their Republick; alledging that many of their Citizens had not juſtice done them. The *Phliaſian* Government provoked by this, fined all thoſe that went thither without a Deputation from the City: and they who were fined remained there, fearing to return home; and declared that things were arbitrarily carried on by thoſe who baniſhed them, and expulſed the *Lacedemonians*; that they had bought up the Exiles Goods, and forcibly detain'd them, having procured that they ſhould be fined for coming to *Lacedemon*, that ſo none for the future ſhould dare to go thither and diſcover what was done in the City.

The *Ephori* plainly apprehending by this

this, that the *Phliaſians* would grow inſolent, decreed to ſend an Army againſt them; and *Ageſilaus* was glad of this opportunity. For *Podanemus* and his relations the gueſts of his Father *Archidamus*, were ſome of the Recalled, as alſo was *Procles*, *the Gueſt of *Ageſilaus*. As ſoon as the Preparatory Ceremonies for the Expedition were over, he made no delay, but began his march: ſeveral Ambaſſadors met him, and brought him Money, that he might not enter their Countries; to whom he gave this anſwer, That he intended to oppreſs none in this his Expedition, but to relieve the oppreſſed. At laſt they ſubmitted to his Terms, and entreated him not to enter their Territories. He replied, That he could not give Credit to their words, becauſe they had broke their Faith before; therefore they ought now to convince him by their Deeds: Being asked what theſe ſhould be? He told them, If you'l do that, which if you had done before, all this trouble might have been prevented; that was to deliver up their Citadel; which when they refuſed, he marched into their Country, and forthwith inveſted their City: Yet becauſe the *Lacedemonians* talkt that above five thouſand men would be rendred

Olymp. 100. *Pytheus Archon.*

*Son of *Hipponicus.*

dred disaffected to their Republick for the ſake of a few; (the *Phliaſians* having openly diſcourſed it in the Camp to make it the more be taken notice of) *Ageſilaus* obviated their Deſign. For when any of the Relations, and Friends of the Exiles came out of the Town, he adviſed his men to carry them to the Publick * eating places, and to ſupply as many as would exerciſe with ſufficient Neceſſaries, commanding them to furniſh all with Arms, and not ſcruple to take up money upon credit for this. They obey'd his Orders, and ſet out above a thouſand able men extraordinary well diſciplined and appointed, that at laſt the *Lacedemonians* confeſſed they wanted ſuch Auxiliaries. Whilſt *Ageſilaus* was taken up about this Action, *Ageſipolis* came directly out of *Macedone*, and appeared with his Army before the Walls of *Olynthus*, but meeting with no Oppoſition, he ravaged all the Country about it, and falling upon their confederate Cities, burnt all the Corn, and took *Torone* by ſtorm. Being thus employed in the height of Summer, he was ſeized with a Calenture; and having ſeen *Bacchus*'s Temple at *Aphytos*, he longed for the ſhady Grove, as alſo the Cryſtal, and cool waters there; whither

Private Banquets were forbidden by *Lycurgus*, thereby to prevent luxury, every one that came to this publick place brought his own Commons with him.

Ageſipolis dies.

whither he was carried alive, and died the Seven-night after he was firſt taken ill, without the Conſecrated * ground. He was Embalmed in Honey, and from thence carried home, where he had the Funeral Solemnities of a *Spartan* King. When *Ageſilaus* heard it, he was not pleaſed (as one would imagine) with the removal of a Rival, but ſhed tears for the loſs of his Converſation: Becauſe both the Kings, when they are at home, have the ſame Apartment together; and *Ageſipolis* was able to entertain him with Diſcourſes pleaſing to young men; as of Dogs, Horſes, and Love Intrigues, having a ſecret aw and Reverence for him, as being the more experienc'd man.

* *Vrgu.*

In his ſtead the *Lacedemonians* ſent *Polybiades* to go General againſt the *Olynthians*. *Ageſilaus* had ſpent more time already in the Siege of *Phlius*, than it was ſaid to be Victualled for: But ſo great difference there is betwixt Regulation, and the Gut, that the *Phliaſians* decreeing to come to half their former Allowance, and putting that Decree in execution, they held out twice as long again, as 'twas thought they could have done: And ſuch an Aſcendant has Daringneſs over poor ſpirited men, that one *Delphio* a gallant ſort

Nicon Archon.

of

of man, taking only a Guard of three hundred, prevented those that were inclined to a Peace, from making one, and committed them he was suspicious of to safe Custody, obliging the people to Duty, and kept them firm in their obedience, by going the Rounds. Several times he sallied with his Guards, and beat the Enemy from their Posts on the Lines; till at length they could find no Provision in the Town, though they searched for it; and then they desired *Agesilaus* to give their Ambassadours Pass-ports for *Lacedemon*, acquainting him withal that the City had decreed to surrender to the *Lacedemonian* Magistrates upon discretion. *Agesilaus* being offended because they had passed him by, sent to his Friends at home, & procured the affair of *Phlius* to be wholly remitted to him: Yet he gave safe Conduct to the Deputies, and pressed those in the Town harder than before, so that none could get out, except *Delphio*, and a Slave that had taken a great many Arms from the Besiegers, who made their escape by Night. When the Orders came from *Lacedemon*, how that the Republick referred the whole to *Agesilaus* to determine according to his own discretion, he made this Determination: That fifty of the

the recalled Exiles, and as many of the other Citizens ſhould be choſen to decide who ought to be pardoned, and who put to death, to make Laws by which they ſhould govern; and till theſe things were ſetled, he left a Gariſon with ſix Months Pay. After this, he disbanded the Confederates, and marched with his own Troops home: And thus the *Phliaſian* War was concluded in a Year and eight Months.

About this time *Polybiades* obliged the *Olynthians* to ſend to *Lacedemon* for Peace, they being reduced to great extremity by Famine, for that they could neither get in Proviſions by Land, nor import them by Sea. Thither their Plenipotentiaries went, and made a Peace upon theſe Articles; That they ſhould come into the Alliance; that they ſhould make a League Offenſive, and Defenſive, and ſerve the *Lacedemonians* in all their Wars: after the Articles were ſigned, they returned home.

The *Lacedemonians* ſeeing their Affairs in ſo flouriſhing Condition, thought their Empire was well and firmly eſtabliſhed on all ſides; for the *Thebans*, and the reſt of the *Bœotians* were wholly reduced, the *Corinthians* made their faithful Allies, the *Argives* humbled, and put by their

their old Pretences; the *Athenians* deſerted by all, and the diſaffected Confederates mulcted. *Many other Examples might be brought both from the* Greeks *and* Barbarians, *to prove that the Gods are not unmindful of wickedneſs and injuſtice; yet I ſhall only make uſe of this Paſſage that falls within the compaſs of my Hiſtory.* The *Lacedemonians* who had ſworn to leave the States to be governed by their own Laws, yet reſerving to themſelves the Citadel of *Thebes*, were puniſhed by thoſe only whom they had injured, having till this time kept the Reputation of *Invincible*: So that ſeven only of the Exiles were enough to ruine thoſe that delivered up the Citadel to the *Lacedemonians*, intending thereby to enſlave the City, that they themſelves might Lord it over the reſt: I will relate the particulars how it hapned.

The *Lacedemonian* Empire declines.

Nauſinicus Archon.

There was one *Phyllidas* Secretary to *Archias* his Colleagues, the chief Magiſtrate, a man thought capable to manage Buſineſs of the higheſt Concern; who coming to *Athens* about ſome Occaſions, fell into company with *Mello* an old Acquaintance of his, and one of the Exiles there; and enquiring how *Archias* the chief Magiſtrate and *Philip* behaved themſelves

ſelves in their tyranny, he found him more diſſatisfied with Affairs at home than himſelf. Whereupon they made a mutual Engagement, and agreed how all things ſhould be managed: Upon this *Mello* taking ſeven of the fitteſt men amongſt the Exiles without any Arms but their Swords, went with them into the Country near *Thebes*, and tarrying a day in a loneſom place, came to the Gates of the City at Night, pretending that they returned out of the Fields from their work: They were let into the Town, and lodged that Night and the day following at one *Charon*'s houſe. In the mean while *Phyllidas* procured the chief Magiſtrates all things neceſſary for the ſolemnizing the Feaſt of *Venus* at the laying down of their Office, promiſing according to a former Engagement, to procure them Women of the greateſt Quality, and the moſt celebrated Beauties in *Thebes*.

They being ſuch kind of Blades, expected to divert themſelves very pleaſantly that Night: After Supper, when *Phyllidas* had warm'd them pretty well with Wine, they ordered him to bring in the Miſſes; accordingly he went out, and fetched in *Mello*, and his Companions,

ons, dreſſing three of the mlike Ladies, and the reſt like their Women, and carried them into the Treaſury. Then he went in, and acquainted *Archias* and his Company, that the women refuſed to enter, whilſt any of their Attendants remained in the Room: Thereupon they commanded all inſtantly to withdraw; *Phyllidas* gave them Wine, and conveyed them into one of the Officers houſes. Then he introduced the Miſſes, and placed them each by their Gallants; the ſign being, that as ſoon as they were ſeated, and they began to ruffle them, they ſhould ſtab them. Some report they were killed after this manner; others report, that *Mello* and his Complices coming in where they were at a Feaſt, diſpatched them.

After this, *Phyllidas* taking three of his Companions, went to *Leontiades*'s houſe, and knockt at the Door, ſaying, he had a Meſſage to him from the chief Magiſtrate. *Leontiades* was laid down after Supper to repoſe himſelf, and his Wife ſate by him Spinning: he ſuppoſing *Phyllidas* to be an honeſt man, bid him and his Company come in; they entring, killed him, frighted her, and commanding her to be ſilent, ordered the Doors to be ſhut, threatning if they found them open,

to

to kill every one in the houſe. When *Phyllidas* had done this, he took two of the men and went to the Priſon, telling the Goaler that he brought one from the chief Magiſtrate to be taken into Cuſtody. As ſoon as he opened the Doors, they killed him immediately, and turning all the Priſoners looſe, gave them the Arms they took out of the *Portico*, and leading them up to the *Ampheum*, they commanded them to ſtand. Soon after they made Proclamation by a Cryer, That all the Horſe and heavy-armed men ſhould appear in Arms, becauſe the Tyrants were ſlain; but the Citizens giving no credit to it that Night, remained quiet; yet being certified of it in the Morning, the heavy-arm'd men and Horſe came out with their Arms immediately.

The Citadel of *Thebes* retaken

The Exiles that return'd from baniſhment ſent the Horſe to the two *Athenian* Generals on the Frontiers, who underſtood the buſineſs they came for. The Governour in the Citadel hearing of the Proclamation made the Night before, ſent immediately to *Platææ*, and *Theſpiæ* for aſſiſtance: but the *Theban* Horſe receiving Intelligence that the *Platæans* were upon their march, went out to meet them, and killed twenty. After this action, when

they returned to *Thebes*, and the *Athenians* arrived from the Frontiers, they attacked the Citadel. They in the Place knowing themſelves to be weak, and ſeeing the courage of the Aſſailants, there being Proclamation made of great Rewards for thoſe that mounted the Wall firſt, were terrified, and offered to quit the Place, if they might depart with their Arms upon ſafe Conduct. The *Thebans* willingly granted them their Conditions, and confirming the Articles by Oath, they let them go; yet they killed ſuch of their Enemies as they found amongſt them, though the *Athenians* who came in to the Aſſiſtance of the Conſpirators from the Frontiers concealed ſome: nay, the *Thebans* took even the children of ſuch as had any, and cruelly put them to death.

The *Lacedemonians* having Intelligence of this, put the Governour that ſurrendred the Citadel to death, for not holding out till Succors came, and decreed to ſend an Army againſt the *Thebans*. But *Ageſilaus* pleading that he was forty years above man's Eſtate, proved that as others of that Age were not obliged to go to any Forreign War, ſo there was the ſame Law for a King, and by this he excuſed himſelf from the Service.

vice. Yet this was not the reaſon why he ſtaid at home, but becauſe he knew very well, that if he undertook that Expedition, the People would ſay, he had involved the State in a War, that he might give the Tyrants aſſiſtance. So he let them take their own meaſures.

The *Ephori* upon Advice of thoſe that were baniſhed after the Maſſacre at *Thebes*, ſent out *Cleombrotus* in a very ſharp Winter, that being the firſt time he was General. He took his march by the way of *Platææ*, becauſe *Chabrius* kept the Paſs by *Elentheræ* with the *Athenian* Targetiers. Theſe Targetiers advancing before the reſt, met with thoſe that were let out of Priſon on a Hill, being about an hundred and fifty, and cut them all in pieces, except ſome few that might eſcape by chance. From that Place *Cleombrotus* paſſed on to *Platææ*, a Town at this time in Amity with the *Lacedemonians*. Afterwards he marched to *Theſpiæ*, and moving from thence to *Cynocephalæ*, a Town belonging to the *Thebans*, he encamped there, where he ſtayd ſixteen days, and then returned back to *Theſpiæ*, leaving *Sphodrias* there with the third part of the Confederates, and gave him what Money he had brought with him from home, ordering

him to raiſe ſome Mercenaries.

Whilſt *Sphodrias* was about this, *Cleombrotus* returned home with his Forces the way that leads through *Creuſis*, being uncertain whether they ſhould have War or Peace with the *Thebans*, yet though he led his Army through their Country, he departed without doing much Miſchief. In his Retreat there hap'ned an unlucky Wind, which ſome divined did prognoſticate that which was to come. For amongſt ſeveral other effects of its violence, at that time when *Cleombrotus* marched with the Army out of *Creuſis*, over the Mountains that reach to the Sea, it bore ſeveral Aſſes with their Packs down the precipice, and carried many Arms into the Sea: ſo that ſeveral being not able to march with their Arms, left them up and down on the top of the Mountains, inverting their Shields, and fillng them with Stones. That Night they ſupped on what they could get at *Ægoſthena*, a Town in the Countrey of *Megara*. The Day following they went, and fetched their Arms: and *Cleombrotus* disbanded them, all departing home.

Callias Archon.

The *Athenians* taking into conſideration, that the *Lacedemonians* had a Formidable Power, that they had paſſed by *Attica*

tica to attack *Thebes*, and that the *Corinthian* War was ended; tried two of thoſe Captains, which conſpired with *Millo* againſt *Leontiades* Party, one whereof they executed, and the other they baniſhed, becauſe he fled from Juſtice. The *Thebans* alſo fearing leſt they ſhould be left alone in the War againſt the *Lacedemonians*, found out this contrivance. They (as 'tis thought) corrupted *Spodrias* Governour of *Theſpiæ* to enter *Attica*, and engage the *Athenians* in a War with the *Lacedemonians*. He hearkned to them, and undertook to ſurprize the *Piræus*, which was yet without Gates. In order thereto, he refreſhed his men, and marched out of *Theſpiæ* very early, giving out that he would reach the *Piræus* by Day, though it was Day when he arrived at *Thria*: ſo that he could not conceal his Deſign from being diſcovered. Therefore in his return he drove away the Cattle, and plundered the Houſes. Some that met him came flying by Night to the City, and informed the *Athenians* that a great Army was entred their Countrey; whereupon the Heavy-armed men and Horſe that were upon the Guard, armed. At that time the * *Lacedemonian* Ambaſſadors at *Athens* were entertained

* *Etymocles, Ariſtolochus, Ocellus.*

by *Callias* their Publick Hoſt, but when this News came, the *Athenians* ſeized them, and committed them to ſafe Cuſtody, ſuſpecting them to be concerned in this Conſpiracy. The Ambaſſadors being amazed at it, made their Defence, ſaying, they would ne'r have been ſuch Fools, if they had known the *Piræus* was to have been ſeized, as to have remained in the City under their Power, nor with a Publick Hoſt, where they might ſo eaſily be found out, adding that it would appear the *Lacedemonians* themſelves knew nothing of it, and that they would ſoon hear that the Republick would puniſh *Sphodrias*. Thus they having purged themſelves, were diſcharged.

The *Ephori* recalling *Sphodrias*, impeached him of High Treaſon, and he being frighted, made no appearance, yet was acquitted. Many thought theſe Proceedings of the *Lacedemonians* were unjuſt. The reaſon hereof was this; *Sphodrias* had a Son named *Cleonymus*, newly come to man's Eſtate, being the moſt beautiful and renowned of his Equals, whom *Archidamus Ageſilaus*'s Son intirely loved. *Cleombrotus*'s Friends being very intimate with *Sphodrias*, were inclined to acquit him, but becauſe he had committed

committed ſo hainous a crime, they feared as well *Ageſilaus* and his Party, as thoſe that were indifferent. A while after *Sphodrias* ſaid to *Cleonymus*, Son you may ſave your Father's Life, by intreating *Archidamus* to prevail with his Father, to be favourable to me in my Trial. He hearing him ſay ſo, put on confidence, and going to *Archidamus* begged of him to bring his Father off. *Archidamus* ſeeing *Cleonymus* weep, wept too, and after he had heard his Petition, ſaid to him, you know *Cleonymus*, I am not able to look my Father in the face, but when I would carry any thing in the City, I make uſe rather of any than him. Yet ſince you command me, aſſure your ſelf, I'll uſe my utmoſt endeavour to ſerve you herein.

After that *Archidamus* went home from the Publick Eating-place, and repoſed himſelf; in the Morning as ſoon as he was up, he took care to obſerve his Father's walking abroad, and when he ſaw him go forth, if there were any of the *Spartans* by, he let them diſcourſe with his Father, and if there were any Strangers or Servants that deſired to make their Addreſſes, he gave way for them too.

At length as *Ageſilaus* was returning home from the *Eurotas*, *Archidamus* went away, and came not near his Father, and

The River on which *Sparta* ſtands.

the next day he did ſo again. *Ageſilaus* ſuſpecting for what he went after him ſo, askt him no Queſtions, but let him go his way. In the mean time *Archidamus*, you may be ſure, had a great deſire to ſee *Cleonymus*, but to go to him before he had diſcourſed his Father, he could not. Then *Sphodrias*'s Friends ſeeing *Archidamus* did not come to his Houſe, ſo often as he was wont, were at their Wits end, leſt *Ageſilaus* ſhould have given him a rebuff. At laſt *Archidamus* ventured to go, and thus accoſted him. Father! *Cleonymus* deſired of me to beg of you, that you would ſave his Fathers Life, and I make it my requeſt that it may be granted. *Ageſilaus* anſwered him, I forgive you, but I don't ſee how I ſhall get my own pardon from the Republick, for not condemning one that has taken Bribes to the prejudice of his Countrey. At that time he replied nothing again, being convinced by the Juſtice *of what his Father ſaid*, but went his way. Yet afterwards, whether he took notice of it by his own motion, or that it was hinted to him by ſome body elſe, he went to him, and ſaid Father! I know that if *Sphodrias* had not offended, you would have acquitted him for Innocencie's ſake, and if he has, pardon him for mine. *Ageſilaus* made him this

Anſwer,

Anſwer, if it be conſiſtent with my Honor, it ſhall be ſo; which when he heard, he went away with ſmall hopes.

About that time one of *Sphodrias*'s Friends diſcourſing with *Etymocles*, ſaid, I believe all you that are of *Ageſilaus*'s Party will be for putting *Sphodrias* to death. *Etymocles* replied, why ſhould we not follow *Ageſilaus*'s Opinion, ſeeing he tells every one he diſcourſes about it, that it is impoſſible to bring him off. Yet it would be hard for him to be put to death in the Flower of his Age, who has behaved himſelf ſo well, when a Child, a Youth, and a Man grown: for *Sparta* wants ſuch Soldiers. He hearing this, told it *Cleonymus*, who being pleaſed therewith went directly to *Archidamus*, ſaying, Now, I know you have a reſpect for me, and I would have you reſt ſatisfied, that my endeavours ſhall be, ſo as your love mayn't be miſplaced. Nor was he deceived in him, for he behaved himſelf honourably in his Countrey, as long as he lived, and fought at *Leuctra* under General *Dino*, before the King, where charging in the formoſt of the Battel he fell in the midſt of the Enemy, greatly afflicting *Archidamus*. Nor was he, according to his Promiſe, a Diſhonour, but a Credit to him.

After

After this manner *Sphodrias* got off: whereupon the *Athenians* that favoured the Intereſt of the *Bœotian* Faction, poſſeſſed the People, that the *Lacedemonians* were ſo far from puniſhing *Sphodrias*, that they commended him for plotting againſt *Athens*. Upon that the *Athenians* immediately after, made Gates to the *Piræus*, built Ships, and vigorouſly aſſiſted the *Bœotians*. The *Lacedemonians* decreed that an Army ſhould be ſent againſt the *Thebans*, and deſired *Ageſilaus* to take the Command of it, eſteeming him one of better Conduct than *Cleombrotus*. He told them, that he would comply with the pleaſure of the State, what ever it was; and ſo prepared for his march. But when he underſtood that it would be no eaſie matter to enter the *Thebans* Countrey, unleſs he was firſt poſſeſt of *Cithæron*, and being advertiſed that the *Cletorians* were at War with the *Orchomenians*, and had entertained Mercenary Troops in their Service, he treated with them to lend him thoſe Forces, in caſe he had occaſion for them. After he had obtained an auſpicious Sacrifice for his Expedition, he ſent, before he arrived with his Army at *Tegea*, to the General of the Mercenaries, that ſerved under the *Cletorians*, and gave

gave them a Months pay, commanding them to go, and poſſeſs themſelves of *Cithæron*, and ordered the *Orchomenians* to forbear Hoſtilities, threatning alſo, that if any City ſhould make War during the time of this Expedition, he would perſuant to the Decree of the Confederates, fall immediately upon them.

After he had paſſed *Cithæron*, he arrived at *Theſpiæ*; and parting from thence with his Army, he marched into the *Thebans* Countrey, and finding the Plain and beſt Parts of it entrenched, and fortified with Paliſadoes, he encamped in ſeveral Places, and after Dinner ſent out Parties to burn, and deſtroy the Countrey, that lay before his Works. For whereſoever *Ageſilaus* marched, the Enemy appeared upon the Defenſive Part within their Trenches. But when he returned to his Camp, the *Theban* Horſe lying under a Covert, ſallied out of the Avenews, about the time the Targetiers were getting their Supper ready, and preparing for it, the Horſe being partly mounted and diſmounted. They charged, and killed *Cleo* and *Epilytidas*, two *Spartan* Horſemen, as alſo *Eudicus* one of the Neighbourhood of *Sparta*, with ſome of the *Athenian* Exiles that had not yet mounted.

mounted. But when *Ageſilaus* faced about, and came to their Aſſiſtance with the Heavy-armed men and Horſe, ſupported by thoſe that were ten years above man's eſtate, and charged them full ſpeed: The *Theban* Horſe ſhew themſelves to be meer Slugs, ſtanding their Ground only till the Cavalry advanced, and threw their Lances, but reached them not; for as ſoon as they did, they gave back, and loſt twelve of their men.

Τοῖς ἱππο-πεπτωκόσιν ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ. 'Twas a note of Luxury and Sottiſhneſs to ſleep after Dinner. *Athen.*

Ageſilaus underſtanding that the Enemy uſed to appear in the Field after it was Noon, ſacrificed by break of Day, and marching with diligence, entred their Trenches through a Place, that was not well guarded, waſting and deſtroying all to the Gates of *Thebes*. After this Action he retired to *Theſpiæ*, and walled the Town, appointing *Phœbidas* Governour of the Place; and marching back again to *Megara*, disbanded the Auxiliaries, and returned home with his *Spartans*. From that time *Phœbidas* ſent out Foragers to ruin, and deſtroy the Countrey about *Thebes*, who waſted it with their continual Depredations. On the contrary the *Thebans* to be even with them, fell with all their Forces into the *Theſpians* Countrey; but whilſt they were there,

Phœbidas

Phœbidas obſerved them, and obliged them to keep together in a cloſe Body. So that the *Thebans* being weary of their invaſion, haſtened their Retreat out of the Countrey: the *Muletiers* alſo threw away the Corn they carried, and drave their Mules home, ſo great a Conſternation was the Army in! Then *Phœbidas* taking the Targetiers along with him, commanded the Heavy-armed men to follow, and preſſed the Enemy very hard, hoping to give them a total Defeat. For he led on very boldly, encouraging his men to ſet ſeriouſly to their Work, and the *Theſpian* Heavy-armed men to follow. The *Theban* Cavalry getting together in a Body, retired to a Foreſt that could not be paſſed through, and there they turned upon the Enemy, becauſe there was no way to retreat. Whereupon the formoſt of the *Lacedemonian* Targetiers being few in number, and ſtruck with a terror, fell to flight: Which the *Theban* Horſe ſeeing, they were encouraged to fall upon thoſe that fled, and ſoon after *Phœbidas* with two or three more, that fought by him were ſlain: Whereupon all the Mercenaries fled. When they came in their purſuit to the Heavy-armed men of the *Theſpians*, theſe who before diſdained to yield to the *Thebans*, turned their backs,

backs, though purſued by none, becauſe it was late in the Evening, and though but few of them were ſlain, yet they ſtopped not, till they had a Wall between them, and their Enemy.

By this Action the *Theban* Affairs recovered new Life again; ſo that they made War upon the *Theſpians*, and other Neighbouring Cities, cauſing the People to remove from theſe Places to *Thebes*, there being in thoſe Towns the ſame Government, as in that City, by which the Friends of the *Lacedemonians* were weakned there. After *Phœbidas* was ſlain, the *Lacedemonians* ſent a Colonel with a Regiment by Sea, to put into the Gariſon at *Theſpiæ*.

Olymp. 101. *Chariander Archon.*

In the Spring the *Lacedemonians* ſent an Army againſt *Thebes*, and intreated *Ageſilaus* to command it. He took the ſame Meaſures in this Expedition, as in the other, ſending before he had an auſpicious Sacrifice to the Colonel at *Theſpiæ*, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſs over *Cithæron*, and keep it till he himſelf arrived thither. When *Ageſilaus* paſſed this Hill, and came to *Platææ*, he made as if he would firſt march to *Theſpiæ*, ſending thither, and ordering Proviſions to be got ready, and the Deputies to expect him there. The Day following *Ageſilaus* ſacrificed

crificed by break of Day, and reaching *Erythræ* performed two days march in one, and paſſed the Trench at *Scolum*, before the *Thebans* came from the Guard of that Poſt, where he entred at firſt. Having performed this, he deſtroyed the *Thebans* Countrey, as far as that of *Tanagra* (which hitherto was defended by *Hypatadorus*, and his men the *Lacedemonian* Allies) and retreated to the left of the Town. The *Thebans* coming upon him, drew up in *Batallia* at a Place called the Old Woman's Breaſt, having ſecured their Rear with a Ditch and *Paliſado*, ſuppoſing they might eaſily hazard a Battle there, becauſe the Place was very narrow, and not eaſily acceſſible. *Ageſilaus* ſeeing this, did not attack them, but marched a contrary way towards *Thebes*: the *Thebans* being in pain for their City, becauſe it was naked, left the place where they were drawn up, and haſtned thither with diligence, by the way that leads to *Potniæ*, that being the ſecureſt.

This was eſteemed a neat Stratagem; for *Ageſilaus* by retiring a good diſtance from the Enemy, obliged them alſo to retreat full ſpeed: beſides the Colonels flanked them with ſome Regiments as they paſſed by. On the other hand the

Thebans

Thebans darted their Javelins from the Hill; ſo that *Alipetus* one of the Colonels was killed therewith. Yet the *Thebans* were beaten from this Hill, and the *Sciritæ* aſcending with a Party of Horſe, cut off ſome of their Rear as they paſſed by towards *Thebes*. When the *Thebans* were advanced near the Walls, they faced about, which the *Sciritæ* ſeeing, retired with diligence, and though not one of them was loſt, yet the *Thebans* erected a Trophy, becauſe the Enemy retreated from the Place to which they had firſt aſcended.

The Seaſon being advanced, *Ageſilaus* parted thence, and encamped in a Place where he diſcovered the Enemy firſt drawn up, and the next Day decamped, marching the way that leads to *Theſpiæ*. The Mercenary Targetiers of the *Thebans* following them very boldly, called to *Chabrias* to keep up cloſe; the *Olynthian* Horſe alſo, who according to a Treaty ſerved under the *Thebans*, facing about, purſued them to the riſe of an Hill, and killed a great many, for the Hill being eaſie to be rode up, the Horſe made the Foot Priſoners on the Aſcent. Afterwards when *Ageſilaus* came to *Theſpiæ*, and found the People divided, the *Lacedemonian*

demonian Faction giving out, that they would put their Adverſaries to death, one of which was *Meno*, he would not permit it, but compoſed the Differences, and made them ſware mutually to be Friends. From thence he returned over *Cithæron*, the way that goes to *Megara*, and there having disbanded the Auxiliaries, marched home with the Troops of his own Countreymen.

The *Thebans* being hard preſſed with ſcarcity of Proviſions at this time, becauſe they had reaped no Corn for two years together, manned two Gallies, and ſent ten Talents to be expended in Corn 1875 *l.* at *Pagaſæ*. But whilſt they were buying of their Corn, *Alcetas* the *Lacedemonian*, Governour of *Oreum* fitted out three Gallies, taking particular care that his Deſign might not be diſcovered. After it was ſhipped off, *Alcetas* took that, and the Gallies, and the men, being no leſs than three hundred, and put them into the Citadel where he himſelf quartered. They ſay then that *Alcetas* had a marvellous handſome Boy of *Oreum* to wait upon him, whoſe Company he went down from the Citadel to enjoy. The Priſoners obſerving this his careleſsneſs, ſeized the Citadel, upon which the Town re-

volted, and the *Thebans* imported plenty of Corn.

Hippodamus Archon.

In the beginning of the Spring following, *Ageſilaus* was confined to his Bed, for when he marcht with his Army out of the *Thebans* Countrey to *Megara*, as he was going out of *Venus*'s Temple into the Senate-houſe; he broke a Vein ſomewhere or other in his Body, and the Blood flowed out from thence into the ſound Leg, then the calf ſwelling, and the pains growing intollerable, a *Syracuſian* Doctor opened a Vein by the Ankle. Yet the blood ran Day and Night continually, and did not ſtop, do what they could, till he ſwounded, and then it ſtanched. From hence he was carried to *Lacedemon*, where he lay ſick the reſt of the Summer, and the Winter following.

Socratides Archon.

Early in the Spring the *Lacedemonians* ſent out another Army, and gave the Command thereof to *Cleombrotus*, who marched with his Forces to *Cithæron:* the Targetiers went before to poſſeſs themſelves of the Places that lay above the Road; but a Party of *Athenians*, and *Thebans* having taken the Hill before them, they let them aſcend, and having gotten them within their power, roſe up, purſued,

purſued, and killed near forty of them. After this Action *Cleombrotus* thinking it impoſſible to paſs into the *Thebans* Countrey marched back again with his Army, and disbanded them.

At that time the Confederates being aſſembled at *Lacedemon*, muttered that they were conſumed by the War, through the negligence of their Generals, that they could man out a much ſtronger Fleet, than the *Athenians*, and could ſtarve their City, that they could tranſport an Army in this Fleet into the Countrey of *Thebes*, either at *Phocis*, or *Creuſis*. Hereupon they fitted out ſixty Sail, and made *Pollis* Admiral. Nor were they miſtaken in their Meaſures; for the *Athenians* were blocked up, and their Corn Fleet being at *Geræſtus*, could not return from thence, becauſe the *Lacedemonian* Fleet lay off of *Ægina*, *Ceos*, and *Andros*. The *Athenians* conſidering their own exigencies fitted out a Fleet, and engaged with *Pollis* under the Conduct of *Chabrias*, beat him at Sea, and ſo the Corn was brought into *Athens*. Soon after the *Athenians* making Preparations to Tranſport an Army into *Bœotia*, the *Thebans* entreated them to ſend another into *Peloponneſus*, ſuppoſing if

this were done, the *Lacedemonians* would not be able at the ſame time to defend their own Countrey, and their Confederates, as alſo to ſend a ſufficient force againſt them.

The *Athenians* provoked by what *Sphodrias* had done, equipped a Fleet of ſixty Sail with great diligence, and choſe *Timotheus* their Admiral. But, the Enemy having neither entred the *Thebans* Countrey, nor *Cleombrotus* began his march, nor *Timotheus* ſailed round *Peloponneſus* with his Fleet; the *Thebans* vigorouſly attacked the Neighbouring Towns, and retook them. In the mean while, *Timotheus* ſailed about *Peloponneſus*, and took *Corcyra*, but did not enſlave the People, nor baniſh any, nor change their Laws; whereby he endeared himſelf to all the adjacent Towns. On the other hand, the *Lacedemonians* ſet out a Fleet againſt them, appointing *Nicholochus* their Admiral, a very daring ſort of man; who coming in view of *Timotheus*'s Fleet, without any more delay, though ſix of the *Ambracians* had not joyned him, engaged the other ſixty ſix with fifty five of his own, and was beaten. Thereupon *Timotheus* erected a Trophy at *Ælyzia*. Afterwards, when *Timotheus*'s Gallies were haled

haled up a ſhore, and refitting, *Nicolochus* having joyned the ſix *Ambracians*, ſailed to *Ælyzia* where he lay, and erected a Trophy in the Neighbouring Iſles, becauſe he came not out. *Timotheus* refitting thoſe Ships he had, and equipping more in *Corcyra*, made up above ſeventy Sail, becoming thereby far ſtronger at Sea; and ſent to *Athens* for mony having occaſion for large Summs wherewith to maintain ſo numerous a Fleet.

XENOPHON'S History OF THE Affairs of Greece.

LIB. VI.

THE CONTENTS.

Jaſon *made Captain General of* Theſſaly. Mnaſippus *the* Lacedemonian *Admiral ruined by his Avarice.* Iphicrates *a Famous General of the* Athenians. *The States of* Greece *aſſemble about making a Peace. A Peace is made and broken. The Battle of* Leuctra *wherein the* Lacedemonians *are overthrown by the* Thebans. Jaſon *is murdered in the height of his Glory. The* Lacedemonians *beg Aſſiſtance of the* Athenians *againſt the* Thebans.

THE Affairs of the *Athenians*, and *Lacedemonians* ſtood thus. The *Thebans* having ſubdued the Towns of *Bæotia*, carried the War into *Phocis*: whereupon the *Phoceans* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lacedemon* to let them know, that if they were not ſuccoured, they muſt neceſſarily fall into the hands of the *Thebans*. Upon this Meſſage they ſent *Cleombrotus* their King with four Regiments, and a Detachment of the Confederates into *Phocis*. Much about this time, *Polydamas* the *Pharſalian* came out of *Theſſaly* to *Lacedemon*, being eſteemed in the other Parts thereof, a Perſon of Honour and Integrity, and in his own City was reputed one of that Probity, that the *Pharſalians* in time of Sedition committed the Citadel to his care, ordering him to receive the Revenues aſſigned by Law to be expended on the * Sacrifices, and other Publick Affairs. Out of that Money he kept the Citadel, and gave up his Accounts every Year, both of that, and his other Truſt, making uſe of his own Money, when he had none of the Publick, and reimburſing himſelf out of the Revenue, when there was Money in Bank. Moreover he was in other reſpects

* The Sacrifices were at the charge of the Publick for the moſt part, and *Theodoſius* perſwades ſeveral Heathens to turn Chriſtians becauſe of the coſtlineſs of their Religion, *Suid. in voce.* Θεοδόσ.

ſpects according to the *Theſſalian* Mode a Lover of Hoſpitality and Magnificence. When he arrived at *Lacedemon* he made this Oration before the Senate.

Polydamas's Oration.

'Tis but reaſonable (My Lords of *Lacedemon*) *ſeeing I and all my Anceſtors have been your Publick Hoſts and Benefactors, that I ſhould make my Applications to you in my Straits; and, when any thing oppoſes your Intereſt in* Theſſaly, *that I ſhould inform you thereof. I make no queſtion but you have heard of* Jaſon, *a man of great Fame, and one that can bring a conſiderable Army into the Field. He made a Truce, and coming to me, ſpake after this manner.* Polydamas! *I have already reduced the moſt powerful Cities of* Theſſaly; *and thoſe I have conquered though aſſiſted by your Arms. Let this therefore be a convincing Argument to you; that I can poſſeſs my ſelf of your City* Pharſalus *maugre all the oppoſition you can make. You know that I have ſix thouſand Mercenaries, which in all probability no City can withſtand, and I can draw as great a Body out of the Gariſons. On the other hand the Forces of the Cities are ſuch as are ſuperannuated, or not yet grown up, being raw, and undiſciplined men: but I entertain none in my Service,*

vice, that can't endure the hardſhips of War as well as my ſelf. I'll give you a very true Account how Affairs ſtand. This Jaſon *is of a robuſt Body, and indefatigable Induſtry; he exerciſes his Soldiers every day, training them in the Artillery Ground, and in his Marches, and thoſe Mercenaries he finds effeminate, he caſhiers. But ſuch as he ſees behave themſelves in time of Action with Bravery, and Reſolution, he honours with the pay of two, three, nay ſometimes four men, together with other Rewards, as the Cure of their Diſtempers, and decent Burial. So that all Mercenaries, who ſerve under him, know, that their valour procures them an honourable, and plentiful Livelihood. He informed me further, though I was not ignorant of it before, that the* Maraci, Dolopes, *and* Alcetas *the Governour of* Epirus *were already ſubdued. What then need I fear,* ſaid he, *but that I may think my ſelf able to maſter you with eaſe? But perhaps ſome that don't know me will ſay, why do you delay? why don't you immediately make War againſt the* Pharſalians? *my reaſon is, becauſe I think it far better to engage them by a fair compliance than open force; for if I uſe conſtraint, you will on the one hand make it your Buſineſs to create*

create me what trouble you can, and I on the other to diminiſh your Power as far as I am able, But if you will be perſwaded to joyn me, we ſhall be a mighty reinforcement to each other. I underſtand Polydamas, *that the eyes of all your Countrey are fixt upon you, and if you will bring over the People to my Intereſt, I ingage to make you the greateſt man, next my ſelf, throughout all* Greece. *Yet hear what thoſe Affairs are, that I'll give you the adminiſtration of next under my ſelf, and credit me no farther, than your reaſon will give you leave. 'Tis apparent, that with the Acceſſion of* Pharſalus, *and thoſe Towns you are poſſeſſed of, I could with eaſe be made Captain General of the* Theſſalians; *and if* Theſſaly *were under ſuch a Commander, we could raiſe ſix thouſand Horſe, and above ten thouſand Heavy-armed men; whoſe Stature and Magnanimity whilſt I conſider, I think if they were well diſciplined, they would be the braveſt men throughout the World. For* Theſſaly *being a large Countrey, all the Nations round about it, would be reduced, if once a Captain General was conſtituted. Moſt of our Neighbours are expert in throwing the Lance, ſo that in probability they may be too ſtrong for us in Targeties: yet the* Bœotians, *and the reſt who are engaged in*

the

the War againſt the Lacedemonians, *are my Allies; and will all follow me, if I would but deliver them from the* Spartan *Yoke. I am ſenſible too, that the* Athenians *are very zealous to make an Alliance with us; but I have no deſign to joyn them, becauſe I think 'tis eaſier to obtain the Sovereignty of the Sea, than the Empire of the Land. Yet I would have you conſider* (ſaid he) *whether I ſpeak reaſon or no. For we, being poſſeſt of* Macedon, *from whence the* Athenians *have their Timber, ſhall be able to build a ſtronger Fleet than they: whether can they equip a Fleet ſooneſt, or we, who have ſo great a number of luſty Slaves? Who are better able to maintain Seamen, we that have ſuch plenty of Corn, as to export, or they who have not ſufficient for themſelves unleſs they buy? Perhaps too, we have more plenty of Money, being we depend not on little tributary Iſlands, but receive our Taxes from the Nations on the Continent. When* Theſſaly *is under a Captain General all the adjacent Countries ſhall pay us Tribute; the King of* Perſia *too who is the richeſt man on Earth, does not raiſe his Tribute on the Iſles, but Main-land, and might be reduced with leſs difficulty than* Greece, *for all the men there* (one excepted) *have more mind to be Slaves, than to be Soldiers. I know*

know too what kind of Forces they were who marcht with Cyrus, *and* Ageſilaus, *that brought the King of* Perſia *to the laſt extremity. Upon this his Diſcourſe, I told him he ſpoke ſeveral things that deſerved to be ſeriouſly conſidered. But,* ſaid I, *I don't underſtand why we ſhould quit the* Lacedemonian *Intereſt, ſeeing we can lay nothing to their charge. Then he commended me, adding, that ſince I was a Perſon of that Honour, he was the more deſirous to make an Alliance with me, and gave me liberty to come and acquaint you how Affairs ſtood, and that he is reſolved to fall upon us* Pharſalians, *if we don't ſubmit our ſelves to him. He bid me therefore demand aſſiſtance of you, and,* ſays he, *if you can prevail with them to ſend a ſufficient force againſt me, I ſhall then take what advantage the Fortune of War puts into my hands. But if you think they will not ſupply you with an Army ſtrong enough, you will not eſcape the cenſure of your Countreymen, who have ſo great a veneration for you, and amongſt whom you bear the greateſt ſway. This is my Errand to you, and I have related both what I ſaw my ſelf, and heard from him. I ſuppoſe,* My Lords, *that if you ſend ſuch Forces as I and the reſt of* Theſſaly

ſaly ſhall think ſufficient to make war againſt Jaſon; *that the other Cities will revolt: For all are jealous of the growth of this mans power;-and if you think your Half-ſlaves, undiſciplin'd men, and a General of no Conduct will ſerve; I adviſe you rather to be quiet: For aſſure your ſelves, you have a mighty power, and prudent Leader for to ſtruggle with; Who either by Stratagem, Surprize, or Force, rarely miſſes of his Enterprize. The Day and Night are all one to him, and when Expedition is required, he can Eat and March at the ſame time; thinking 'tis then only time to Repoſe, when he is arrived whither he intended, and has accompliſhed what he deſigned. He has alſo inured his Souldiers to the ſame hardſhip, underſtanding how to gratifie the deſires of his men, when they have adventured hard, and to ſuit his Rewards to their Fancies: So that thoſe who ſerve under him, have learnt the reſult of their Toils to be certain Recreation and pleaſure. And this advantage he has, that never any man was more abſtemious from bodily pleaſures, being never diverted by them from diſpatching his buſineſs: 'Tis your concern therefore to conſider of theſe things, and to let me know both what you can, and what you intend to do.*

Thus

Thus he ſpake; the *Lacedemonians* deferred their Anſwer, and taking into conſideration the next day, and the day following how many Regiments they had abroad, and how many Gallies to fight the *Athenians* with; as alſo what Forces they had to carry on the War againſt the Borderers, return'd him this Anſwer; That at preſent they were not in a condition to ſend him ſufficient Succours, but exhorted him to go home, and put his own Affairs, and thoſe of the City in the beſt poſture he could: He commended the plain dealing of the Republick, and departed.

Afterwards he went to *Jaſon*, and entreated him not to oblige him to deliver up the City of *Pharſalus*, but permit him to keep it for them that had committed it to his care, and gave his Children for Hoſtages, promiſing to bring over the City by a free Conſent, and make him Captain-General: Whereupon immediately Hoſtages being exchanged, the *Pharſalians* obtained Peace, and *Jaſon* by an univerſal conſent, was declared Captain General of the *Theſſalians*. After he was choſen, he appointed what *Quotas* of Horſe and heavy-armed men, each City ſhould furniſh, having above eight thouſand

ſand Horſe together with the Confederates; of heavy-armed men, no leſs than twenty thouſand, and Targetiers enough to fight any Army whatſoever. It would be too tedious a piece of work to reckon up, what a number of conſiderabe Cities *were ſubject to him:* He ordered all the Neighbouring-people to pay the ſame Tribute they did in *Scopas*'s time, and thus things ſtood on that ſide.

Now I leave *Jaſon*'s Affairs, and return to the place, where I made my Digreſſion. The *Lacedemonians* and Confederates aſſembling in *Phocis*, the *Thebans* retired into their own Territories, and guarded the Paſſes. The *Athenians* ſeeing the *Thebans*, though raiſed by them, contribute no Ship-money; that they themſelves were fleeced with Taxes, ſuffered Depredations from the *Ægineans*, and maintained Gariſons, were very deſirous to bring the War to a concluſion, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lacedemon*, in order to make a Peace. Immediately two of the Ambaſſadors ſetting ſail from thence by order of the Republick, commanded *Timotheus* to return home with the Fleet, becauſe peace was made. In his return he carried the Exiles of *Zacynthus*, and put them a-ſhore in their own Country: There-

Thereupon the *Zacynthians* ſent to *Lacedemon*, and acquainted them with the Injuries they had ſuffered from *Timotheus*; the *Lacedemonians* ſuppoſing the *Athenians* had broken the Peace by this action, fitted out another Fleet forthwith, getting together ſixty Sail, * and appointed *Mnaſippus* Admiral, giving him Commiſſion amongſt other things, to make an Attempt upon *Corcyra*, and to guard the Seas.

They ſent alſo to *Dionyſius*, to let him know that it was his Concern not to ſuffer *Corcyra* to remain in the hands of the *Athenians*. *Mnaſippus* having aſſembled his Fleet, went againſt *Corcyra* with fifteen hundred Mercenaries, beſides thoſe from *Lacedemon*. There he making a Deſcent, took the Iſland, and burnt the Country which was neatly Cultivated and Planted, having ſtately Houſes and Wine-Cellars in ſeveral places: Inſomuch, they report the Souldiers grew ſo dainty, that they would drink none but † *Aromatick*-Wine. A great many Priſoners and Cattel were alſo taken in the Country: After that *Mnaſippus* encamped on a Hill five Furlongs diſtant from the City in the Front of the Iſland, that ſo he might cut off any Forces which entred the Iſland on

* From *Lacedemon*, *Corinth*, *Leucas*, *Ambracia*, *Elis*, *Zacynthus*, *Achaia*, *Epidaurus*, *Troezen*, *Hermione*, and the *Halieans*.

† This Liquor ſo much prized by the Ancients, was made of new Wine, and a mixture of Sea-water: their Wines alſo were perfumed with Violets, Roſes, and other fragrant Flowers. *Athen. lib.* 1.

that ſide: On the other he lay with the Fleet, ſuppoſing he could diſcover any Ships that were going thither, and prevent them from landing. Moreover, he rode in the Port, and blockt up the City when he was not hindred by ſtorms. The *Corcyreans* ſeeing they could get nothing out of the Country, becauſe it was poſſeſſed by the Enemy, and that nothing could be imported by Sea, being overpowred there, became greatly diſtreſſed; and ſent to deſire Succours of the *Athenians*, acquainting them that the taking *Corcyra* would be both a great loſs to them, and an acceſſion of ſtrength to the Enemy: For no City furniſhed more Money or Ships than theirs, excepting *Athens*; Beſides *Corcyra* lay commodiouſly for the *Bay* of *Corinth*, and the places that belonged to it; as alſo opportunely for the infeſting *Laconia*, but moſt advantagiouſly for the oppoſite Continent, and the Paſſage out of *Sicily* into *Peloponneſus*.

The *Athenians* hearing this, and thinking it a matter of very great Importance, ſent *Steſicles* Commander in Chief, with about ſix hundred *Targetiers*, requeſting *Alcetas* to tranſport them: Accordingly he landed them at a certain place in the Iſland

Iſland by Night, and ſo they got into the City. Beſides, they equipped ſixty Sail of Ships, and appointed *Timotheus* Admiral, who went to the Iſlands,& endeavoured to make up their Complement there, becauſe he could not fit them out at *Athens*; accounting it a matter of no ſmall moment to go with Precipitation againſt a Fleet that was already united. The *Athenians* concluding he trifled and waſted the time of Action, forgave him not, but put him out of Commiſſion, and choſe *Iphicrates* in his room; who in a very ſmall time fitted out a Fleet with great diligence, obliging thoſe that were bound to ſet out Gallies to equip them, taking the *Paralus* and *Salaminia*, *which in a more ſpecial manner attended the Service of the Publick*; and what Ships ſoever he met with on the Coaſt of *Attica*, telling them that if things ſucceeded well in *Corcyra*, he would ſend ſeveral back again, and got together a Fleet of about ſeventy Sail.

In the mean while, the *Corcyreans* were ſo diſtreſſed with Famine, that *Mnaſippus* by reaſon of the numbers of Deſerters, declared by Proclamation, That all ſuch ſhould be ſold for Slaves: Nevertheleſs when ſome deſerted for all that, he whipt them, and ſent them back again.

On the contrary, the Beſieged would not receive their Slaves into the Town, ſo that they died without the Walls. When *Mnaſippus* ſaw this, he thought he was Cock-ſure of the Town, and began to Treat the *Mercenaries* after a new manner, abridging ſome of their whole Pay, and was two Months in Arrears to thoſe which he paid. Nor did he this for want of Money, as was reported; for it being a Sea-Expedition, ſeveral Cities had ſent Money in lieu of Men. In the mean while, the Beſieged diſcovering from the Towers the Watches not ſo carefully kept as before, and the Souldiers ſtragling up and down the Country, ſallied out, took ſome, and killed others. *Mnaſippus* having notice hereof, not only arm'd himſelf, but went out with his heavy-arm'd men to their Relief, ordering the Commanders and Captains to lead out their *Mercenaries*, and when ſome of them made anſwer, It was not eaſie for him to contain the Souldiers in their Duty, who had not ſupplied them with Neceſſaries, he ſtruck one with his Truncheon, and another with the Javelin of his Lance: And thus they marched out ſhrewdly againſt their humour, hating their General; *a thing no ways expedient in time of Action.* After

he

he had drawn them up in *Battalia*, he routed thoſe that were poſted by the Gates, and purſued them, but they getting near the Walls, and facing about, threw their Javelins, and darted their Lances from off the Monuments: At the ſame time, more ſallied out at the other Gates, and fell pell-mell upon his Rear. The men being marſhalled Eight in Front, and apprehending that part of the *Battalion* to be weak, endeavoured to face about: but as they began to retreat, the Enemy attacked them, as if they had actually fled, ſo that they could face no more; and then thoſe next the Rear were routed. By this time *Mnaſippus* was not able to ſuccor them that were preſſed, becauſe the Enemy lay hard upon him in the Front, and hoſe about him grew ſtill fewer and fewer. At laſt the Enemy gave a furious Charge, and attacked *Mnaſippus* his Squadron, being already reduced to a ſmall number, which the heavy-arm'd men ſeeing, came on, and killing *Mnaſippus*, purſued with all their Forces, and had taken the Camp, and Trench, but that diſcovering the Sutlers Servants, and Slaves, they took them to be men effective, and retired.

The *Corcyreans* erected a Trophy, and

reſtored the Dead upon Truce. Hereupon they in the Town gathered ſtrength, and the Beſiegers were wholly diſheartned, there being news that *Iphicrates* was as good as arrived, and the *Corcyreans* were Equipping their Fleet; Upon that, *Hypermenes*, *Mnaſippus* his Vice-Admiral, fitted out all the Ships that were there, and ſailing about to the Camp, put the Slaves and Money on board all the ſmall Veſſels, and ſent them away, defending the Camp himſelf with the Seamen, and other Souldiers that had eſcaped the Battel; who having very great Apprehenſions leſt they ſhould be ſurprized by the *Athenians*, went on board the Gallies in confuſion, and ſetting Sail, arrived ſafe at *Leucas*, leaving behind them a great quantity of Corn and Wine, with a conſiderable number of Slaves and ſick men. When *Iphicrates* ſet Sail, he immediately made ready for an engagement, leaving his main Sails as though he were going to fight, & made little uſe of his ſmall Veſſels though it was a fair Gale, but kept on his courſe with rowing, whereby he exerciſed the mens bodies more, and made the Ships Sail better: For ſeveral times in thoſe places, where the Fleet were to Dine or Sup, he ſtood out to Sea, and then tacking,

lay

lay with the Stems of the Gallies towards the Shore, commanding them when the ſign was given, to ſtrive who ſhould land firſt, becauſe they that did, were by way of Reward ſerved firſt with Water, or any thing elſe they wanted, and had the pre-eminence of dining firſt.

On the contrary, it was a great puniſhment for the Tardy to be deprived of all thoſe Advantages, and be obliged to come on board when the ſign was made; for thoſe that got firſt aſhore did every thing at their leiſure, but thoſe that came laſt, did all in an hurry. When *Iphicrates* dined in the Enemies Country, he ſet Centinels, as the cuſtom is at Land, and haled up his Maſts, ſetting the men to ſpy from them; ſo that they looking from an Eminence, ſaw a great deal further than they could upon a Level. When he had Supped and Repoſed, he made no Fires in the Camp, but made Lights before it, that the Enemy might not approach undiſcovered: Oftentimes when he ſupped in a Calm, he put to Sea, and if it were a Gale, the Seamen reſted, and the Fleet kept on their courſe; if they were obliged to row, he refreſhed them by turns; and in their courſe by Day, he ſometimes drew up the Fleet in a Line,

and other whiles in a Body: So that they ſuppoſing as they ſailed, that they went into a Sea poſſeſſed by the Enemies, had all things in readineſs for an Engagement. And becauſe *Iphicrates* did only that which was juſt neceſſary, he prevented Supplies from being brought to the Enemy, and performed his Voyage with great expedition. He was at *Sphagea* a Town in *Laconia* when *Mnaſippus* was ſlain; from thence he went into the Country of *Elis*, and paſſing the Mouth of *Alpheus*, put into Port about a place called *Icthys*; next day he ſailed from thence to *Cephallenia*, continuing his courſe in that order, ſo as to have all things ready for an Engagement, if occaſion ſerved. For being he had heard nothing about *Mnaſippus* from any that was an Eye Witneſs, he ſuſpected this report might be ſpread purpoſely to catch him, and therefore he was upon his Guard: but afterwards arriving at *Cephallenia*, and being certified of the truth there, he refreſhed his Army.

I confeſs that Diſcipline and Exerciſe is to be uſed, when there is a proſpect of an Engagement: but this I commend in Iphicrates, *that being to go where he immediately expected a Sea Fight, he ſo contrived, that his men ſhould underſtand what belonged*

longed to one, and yet all this Diſcipline did not retard his courſe.

After he had taken in the Towns in *Cephallenia*, he went to *Corcyra*, and there having Intelligence of the ten Gallies, which *Dionyſius* ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the *Lacedemonians*, he went himſelf to view in what part of the Country they might be diſcovered when they arrived, and at what place from the Town, they who were to give the ſign of their Arrival might be diſcerned: there he ſet Scouts, and appointed what ſign they ſhould make upon the Enemies Arrival, and coming into Port. In the mean while, he gave Orders to twenty Captains of Gallies, who were to attend him upon Summons made, and told them beforehand, that if they did not, thy muſt thank themſelves for what followed. It was worth while to have ſeen what haſt they made upon the diſcovery of the Enemies Arrival, and the Proclamation made, there being none of them but got aboard with all imaginable diligence. *Iphicrates* went from thence to the place where the Enemies Gallies lay, and found that the men were all gone aſhore: Only *Mnaſippus* the *Rhodian* adviſed the reſt not to abide there; and ſhipping his men, departed; and

and though he met *Iphicrates*'s Fleet, yet he made his eſcape; but the *Syracuſian* Ships were taken men and all. *Iphicrates* took off the Jacks of thoſe Ships, and towed them into the Port of *Corcyra*, and ſet a certain Ranſom on every man, except *Anippus* the Admiral; whom he kept either to get a good Sum out of, or elſe for a Market; but he for grief, laid violent hands on himſelf: The reſt *Iphicrates* diſcharged, having taken the *Corcyreans* ſecurity for payment of their Ranſoms. His own Seamen he maintained, by employing them in Husbandry for the *Corcyreans*, and tranſported the *Targetiers*, and *Heavy-ar'd men* into *Acarnania*, to aſſiſt the Confederate Towns where ever there was occaſion. After that he made War upon the *Thyreans* a valiant People, being poſſeſſed of a ſtrong Town: Then he joyned the *Corcyrean* Fleet, and making ninety Sail, went firſt to *Cephallenia* to raiſe Contribution, which ſome paid freely, and ſome by conſtraint.

In the next place, he went and ravaged the *Lacedemonians* Country, and took in the Towns in thoſe parts, either by ſurrender, or if they were obſtinate, by force. Of all *Iphicrates*'s Voyages, this in my opinion deſerves not the leaſt praiſe:

I alſo

I alſo approve of his taking *Calliſtratus* the Orator along with him, though no very agreeable man for ſuch an Employment, and *Chabrias* who had the Reputation of being a great General. For if he thought them wiſe men, and ſo took them for his Counſellors, this was prudently done: Or if he thought them to be Enemies, yet he had ſuch confidence in himſelf, as to be taken doing no ill thing either through cowardize or negligence: This in my opinion was done like a man that was both brave and bold. And theſe were the Exploits of *Iphicrates*.

The *Athenians* ſeeing the *Platæans* their Allies driven out of *Bœotia* already, the *Theſpieans* flying to them for Succors, and begging of them not to ſee them diſpoſſeſſed of their Country, did not at all like theſe Proceedings of the *Thebans*, yet they thought they could not in honour make War upon them; nor did they think it agreeable to their Intereſt. But when they ſaw them employ their Arms againſt the *Phoceans* their ancient Allies, and Raze the Cities which had been faithful to them in the *Perſian* War, and were ſtill in Amity with them: they would be no longer concerned with their Affairs. Hereupon the *Athenians* decreeing to make Peace

Olym. 102. *Alciſthenes Archon.*

Peace, ſent Ambaſſadors firſt to the *Thebans*, exhorting them, if they thought fit, to go for Peace to *Lacedemon*; and accordingly they diſpatched Ambaſſadors thither. *When they came to the General Aſſembly of the *Lacedemonians* and Allies, *Calliſtratus* the Orator was there alſo, who had promiſed *Iphicrates*, if he would ſend him, either to procure Money for the Fleet, or to make Peace; and from that time he had been at *Athens* Negotiating a Peace. They being introduced before the States *Callias* the †*Torch-bearer* the Chief of the Embaſſy, who was a ſort of a man that had a great Conceit of himſelf, and loved that others ſhould have ſo too, began after this manner.

Callias's Speech.

Not only I (my Lords of Lacedemon) *have been your Publick Hoſt, but my Father and Grandfather have tranſmitted this Hereditary Friendſhip down to their Poſterity: I will inform you how the State ſtands affected to our Family; In time of War they chooſe us Generals, and when they deſire Peace, they make us their Ambaſſadors. I my ſelf came hither twice before about concluding the War; and in both my Embaſſies I made Peace between the two Nations. Now I come a third time, and hope to obtain an Accommodation upon more reaſonable*

* There being amongſt thoſe that were choſen, *Callias*, Son of *Hipponicus*, *Autocles* Son of *Strombichides*, *Demoſtratus*, Son of *Ariſtopho*, *Ariſtocles Cephiſodotus*, *Melanopus*, and *Lycanthus*.

† He that carried a Torch in Proceſſion in the Feaſt of *Ceres*.

reaſonable Terms: For I obſerve we are both of a mind, both having alike reſented the Razing of Theſpiæ *and* Platææ*: Is it not reaſon then, that thoſe who are of the ſame Intereſt, ſhould be rather Friends, than Enemies? Certainly no wiſe men will engage in a War upon ſmall Differences: now if we be of the ſame mind, it will be no wonder if a Peace enſue thereupon. In juſtice we ought not to make War with one another, being* Triptolemus *our Progenitor is reported firſt to have brought Corn into* Peloponneſus, *and to have initiated* Hercules *your Founder, together with* Caſtor *and* Pollux *your Country-men, the firſt of any Strangers, into the ſecret Myſteries of* Ceres *and* Proſerpine*: How then can you in juſtice come and deſtroy their Corn, from whom you at firſt received your Seed? And ought not we to wiſh them all Neceſſaries in great abundance, on whom we formerly beſtowed them. If it be decreed by Heaven, that Wars muſt be amongſt men, we ought to begin them as ſlowly as may be; and when begun, to bring them to as ſpeedy a concluſion as we can.*

After him began *Autocles*, one that was eſteemed a very ſubtile Orator.

Though I know very well, wy Lords of Lacedemon, *what I am going to ſay will not* *Autocles's* Speech.

be

be very grateful to you; yet in my opinion, they that would make a lasting Peace, should first declare to each other, the causes of the War: You always pretended, that the Cities should enjoy their own Laws, yet you your selves are the greatest Opposers of their Liberty. This is the very first Article of all your Treaties; That your Confederates should serve you in all your Wars: but how is this consistent with their Liberty? being you declare any to be enemies without Communicating it, and then lead your Allies against them; so that those you are pleased to call Free, are necessitated to bear Arms against the best of their Friends: Besides, you Constitute Governours by Ten men in one place, and by Thirty in another, not regarding whether these Magistrates Govern according to Law, so they be but able to contain those Cities in Obedience to you by force; whereby you seem to be more taken with a tyrannical, than moderate Government. When the King proposed that the Cities should enjoy their own Laws, you pretended that the Thebans *acted contrary to the Kings Letters, for not permitting each City to be governed by its own Magistrates and Laws: but you when you were once possessed of the Citadel would not so much as suffer the* Thebans *them-*

themſelves to enjoy their own Priviledges. They who would make Peace muſt not expect reaſonable Terms from others, when they ſtick at nothing whereby to aggrandize themſelves. He put them all to ſilence, and thoſe who had ſuffered by the *Lacedemonians* heard him with great ſatisfaction.

Calliſtratus's Speech.

After him, *Calliſtratus* ſpake: *I can't deny, my Lords of* Lacedemon, *but that there have been miſcarriages on both ſides, yet my meaning is not, that we muſt ne're be reconciled to thoſe who have once offended us: I never yet could ſee any man without his failing; Men I find grow wiſer ſometimes by their miſcarriages, eſpecially if they have ſmarted for them, as we both have done. I obſerve that ſome things which were unjuſtly carried on, have thwarted your Deſigns; ſuch was the ſurprizal of the Citadel in* Thebes: *For when you made it your whole buſineſs to reſtore the Cities their own Laws, as ſoon as ever the* Thebans *were unjuſtly treated, all the reſt ſided with them: So that I hope you will learn from hence, that Ambition very rarely turns to a good account; and that for the future you will carry it with Moderation in your Alliances to others: They that would oppoſe the Treaty, maliciouſly report, as if we were not deſirous*

of

of Peace, but afraid leſt Antalcidas *ſhould return from the King with Money. Conſider with your ſelves how idely theſe men talk; for the King required in his Letters, That all the Cities in* Greece *ſhould be free, and if we both ſay, and do according to the tenour of them, what need we fear the King? Does any one think that he had rather be at a vaſt Expence to make others great, than to have what he has a mind to done without Expence? But admit it be ſo; why then came we hither? You may eaſily apprehend with a little Conſideration, that Neceſſity brought us not, if you do but call to mind what has been lately done either at Sea or Land: What then can be the reaſon? For certain ſome of the Confederates do that which is neither for our Intereſt nor yours. We have ingeniouſly declared to you our Sentiments, in return for your having been a means of preſerving us. Now if I muſt ſpeak of the Advantage to be expected from a War, ſome Cities will ſide with ours, and ſome with yours; and in every one, ſome there will be who will favour the* Athenians, *and others that will take part with the* Lacedemonians: *If therefore both Nations were at Amity, whom could we have any apprehenſions of? If ye are our Friends, who can incommode*

us

us by Land? and if we ſtand by you, who can moleſt you by Sea? We all know, that Wars often break out, and are again compoſed: and though we don't now, yet in time we may long for Peace. Why then don't we come to an Accommodation as ſoon as we can, but ſtill delay the time, till we be overcome by the multitude of our Afflictions, and ſome incurable Evil does ariſe? I do not approve of thoſe who having often bore away the Prize, and gain'd Reputation thereby, grow ſo in love with Combating, as not to forbear till they are beaten, and then give over exerciſing. Nor do I like your Dice-players, who if they win one Game, will double the Stake; for I ſee many of them quite broke, whom we ought ſo far to take example from, leſt we be reduced to ſuch a Game, ſo as either to win or loſe all. Let us therefore be Friends one with another, whilſt we are in a good and proſperous condition: ſo we by our mutual aſſiſtance ſhall become more conſiderable in Greece, *than we have been any ages heretofore.*

All of them were thought to have diſcourſt very well, and the *Lacedemonians* decreed that a Peace ſhould be accepted on theſe Terms: That they the *Lacedemonians* ſhould recal all their Governours

out of the Cities, and disband their Armies both at Sea and Land; that the Cities ſhould enjoy their own Laws; and if any ſhould act contrary hereto, that whoſoever would might aſſiſt the injured Cities, but if any would not, they ſhould not be obliged thereto by Oath. The *Lacedemonians* ſwore to theſe Articles for themſelves and their Allies; as did the *Athenians* and their Confederates, in the name of their reſpective Cities. Amongſt the reſt that ſwore to the Articles, the *Thebans* entred their Names, and the day following when their Ambaſſadors came to deſire that it might be inſerted; *The* Bœotians *had ratified the Peace inſtead of the* Thebans. *Ageſilaus* made anſwer, He would not alter any thing of what they had Sworn and Recorded at firſt; and that if they would not ſtand to the Treaty, they ſhould be blotted out if they pleaſed. So the reſt having made Peace, the Controverſie remained only about the *Thebans*; and it was the opinion of the *Athenians* themſelves, that 'twas to be feared the *Thebans* would, as it was generally diſcourſt, be * irrecoverably loſt: upon which they went away quite diſheartned.

* Δεκατευθῆναι, the cuſtom being, that when a Nation was beaten, the Tenths of their ſpoils were offered to *Apollo*. Harpoc.

After this, the *Athenians* drew their Gariſons

Gariſons out of all the Cities, and called home *Iphicrates* with the Fleet, obliging him to reſtore all he had taken ſince the concluſion of the Peace at *Lacedemon*. In like manner, the *Lacedemonians* did the ſame to the Cities they were poſſeſt of. *Phraſiclides Archon.*

When *Cleombrotus* who commanded the Army in *Phocis*, conſulted the Magiſtrates at home, how he ſhould govern himſelf; *Prothous* ſaid, That in his opinion the Army ought to be Disbanded purſuant to the Treaty, and notice to be given to the Cities for every one to contribute what they thought fit to the Temple of *Apollo*, and if any oppoſed their Liberty, then to exhort ſuch of the Confederates as would defend the common Intereſt, to declare War againſt them; adding, he thought the Gods in this caſe would be very favourable to their Cauſe, and the Cities ſuccour the Injured. The Council hearing him ſay ſo, thought he talkt idlely; for in all probability they were poſſeſt, and ſent Orders to *Cleombrotus*, not to Disband his Army, but to march directly againſt the *Thebans*, unleſs they would let the Cities enjoy their own Laws: For *Cleombrotus* hearing that Peace was made, ſent to the *Ephori* for Orders, and they gave him theſe Inſtructions.

Therefore when he underſtood that they were ſo far from reſtoring the Cities their Laws, and Disbanding their Forces, that they took the Field againſt him; he marched with his Army into *Bæotia*, yet did not enter from out of *Phocis* at a narrow Paſs which was guarded by the *Thebans*, where they expected he would, but paſſed over the Mountains unexpectedly by the way of *Thisbe*, and arriving at *Creuſis*, took twelve *Theban* Gallies together with the Town.

When he had performed this Exploit, he marched up from the Sea-coaſt, and Encamped at *Leuctra*, which is in the Territory of *Thespiæ*. The *Thebans* had their Camp over againſt them at a ſmall diſtance on a Hill, having joyned none of the Allies except the *Bæotians*. There *Cleombrotus*'s Friends came to him,& ſaid, *Cleombrotus!* If you ſuffer the *Thebans* to go off without fighting, you'l go nigh to loſe your Head; for it will not be forgotten, how you did not burn the *Theban*'s Country when you were at *Cynocephale*, and that in another Campagn you were repulſed from the Paſs over the *Citheron*, which *Ageſilaus* always gained. Therefore, if either you regard your Honour, or care for living in your own Country,

Country, you muſt engage them. This was his Friends Advice. But his Enemies cried, Now he will diſcover whether he, as 'tis reported, has any real reſpect for the *Thebans* or no. When *Cleombrotus* heard this, he was egg'd on to fight. On the other hand, the *Theban* Captains conſidered, that if they gave him not Battel, the adjacent Towns would revolt, that they ſhould be beſieged; and that if the people of *Thebes* wanted Proviſions, the City would go near to riſe up againſt them. Moreover ſeveral of thoſe who had been baniſhed before, concluded it was better to die upon the Spot, than to be baniſhed a ſecond time: Beſides an Oracle went about, that the *Lacedemonians* ſhould be overthrown near the * Graves of thoſe Virgins, who it was ſaid, made away themſelves, becauſe they had been forced by ſome *Lacedemonians*; and this put life into them. The *Thebans* adorned the Monuments of the Virgins before the Fight. News alſo was brought from the City, that all the Temples opened of their own accord; and that the Prieſteſſes ſaid, that the Gods Prognoſticated a Victory. They reported alſo, that the Arms in *Hercules*'s Temple diſappeared, as if *Hercules* himſelf had been gone out to Battel:

* Theſe were the Daughters of *Leuctrus* and *Scedaſus*, whom the *Lacedemonian* Ambaſſadors raviſhed; and they calling to Heaven for Vengeance, killed themſelves. *Diod. Sic. l.* 15.

Battel: Yet ſome ſay, that theſe were only the Devices of the Generals. In the Battel every thing thwarted the *Lacedemonians*; but Fortune diſpoſed all things well for the *Thebans*; After Dinner *Cleombrotus* held the laſt Council of War before the Battel, and becauſe they had drank pretty well at Dinner, 'twas ſaid the Wine did give them a Whet.

The Battel at *Leuctra.* When both Sides were armed, and it was certain that there would be a Battel, the Sutlers, Drudges, and ſuch as had no mind to fight, left the *Bœotian* Army at firſt: but *Hiero*'s Mercenaries and the *Phocean* Targetiers, as alſo the *Phliaſian* and *Heraclean* Horſe fetching a compaſs fell upon them as they retired, and drove them back, purſuing them to the Camp, and thereby made the *Bœotian* Army far more numerous and ſtronger than it was before. There was a Plain between both Armies, and in it the *Lacedemonians* placed their Horſe before the Battel: On the contrary the *Thebans* confronted them with theirs, which by reaſon of the War with the *Orchomenians* & *Theſpieans*, were well experienced: but the *Lacedemonian* Cavalry never were in a worſe condition; for the richeſt men ſet out Horſes, ſo that when an Army was to be levied, the man took

took the Horſe and ſuch Arms as were given him, and went immediately into the Service thus appointed: they too that ſerved on Horſe-back were men of weak bodies, and without any ſenſe of honour at all. Theſe were the Cavalry on both ſides: 'Tis reported, that the * Diviſions of the *Lacedemonian Phalanx* were Marſhalled three in Front, whereby they were Twelve deep. On the contrary, the *Thebans* were drawn up Fifty deep, concluding if they beat thoſe about the King, they ſhould eaſily defeat the reſt. When *Cleombrotus* began to move towards the Enemy, before the reſt of the Army perceived that he advanced, the Horſe were engaged and ſoon routed, who falling foul in their flight upon the Heavy-armed men, were attacked by the *Theban* Troops: Nevertheleſs one may conclude from this plain Argument, that *Cleombrotus* had the better at firſt; for if they that fought before him had not had the advantage at that time, they could not have taken him up and carried him off alive. But after General *Dino*, and *Sphodrias* one of the Council of War, and his Son *Cleonymus* were ſlain; the Horſe, * Lieutenant Colonels, and others that were preſſed by the multitudes gave back.

* Ἐνωμοτία contains 2 men, and 4 Officers. which being drawn up 3 in rank, made 12 in File. *Scol. Thucid. lib.* 5.

* Συμμοσῖται. *Crag.*

Thereupon, when their left wing ſaw their right diſordered, they retreated: Nevertheleſs tho' many were ſlain, yet the Vanquiſhed repaſſed the Trench which was before the Camp, and ſtood to their Arms in the place from whence they firſt moved; for their Camp was not on a Level, but rather on a riſing Ground. Some of the *Lacedemonians* thinking this Defeat was not to be endured, declared they ought not to ſuffer the Enemy to erect a Trophy, and that they were obliged not to fetch off their Slain upon Truce, but by force of Arms: Yet when the great Officers ſaw that near a thouſand *Lacedemonians* were ſlain, and four hundred out of ſeven hundred *Spartans* killed, and that the Confederates had no mind to fight; ſome of them being not much concerned for their loſs, they called the fitteſt men together, and conſulted what meaſures to take. It was the general opinion at laſt, to fetch off the killed upon Truce; and accordingly they ſent an Herald about it: ſo the *Thebans* reſtored their Dead, and erected a Trophy.

When the news of this Defeat was brought to *Lacedemon*, the *Ephori* were troubled at it, as they had reaſon to be; yet it being the laſt day of the * Feaſt, wherein

* Men and women exerciſed naked and expoſed their bodies to the weather, to make them hardy. *Plut. in Lycurg.*

wherein the Children exerciſed naked, and the mens *Chorus* being in the Pit, they did not bid them withdraw, but make an end of their Exerciſe: and then gave an account of the Names of thoſe that were ſlain, to their Relations, chargeing the Women not to make any howling, but to conceal their loſs patiently. The next Day one might ſee thoſe whoſe Relations were ſlain, walking abroad gay and merry; but a few of thoſe appeared whoſe Friends were ſaid to have eſcaped, and thoſe too dejected, and ſneaking up and down. Soon after the *Ephori* decreed to raiſe an Army out of the remaining Regiments, and take in men to ſeventy years of age; for they had ſent ſome of the ſame age out of the Regiments which were abroad, they that were ſixty five years old being gone into the *Phocean* War before this Fight, and thoſe that were left at home to bear the Publick Offices, were ordered to go into the Service. *Ageſilaus* was not yet recovered of his Indiſpoſition; whereupon his Son *Archidamus* was made General, whom the *Tegeans* willingly followed to the Wars; for *Staſippus* Faction, which ſided with the *Lacedemonians*, were ſtill in being, and carried all before them. The

Mantineans

Mantineans out of the Villages alſo being under an Ariſtocratical Government, joyned them. Beſides theſe, the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Phliaſians*, and *Acheans*, went readily into the Service, and other Cities ſent their Forces. Moreover, the *Lacedemonians* and *Corinthians* fitted out ſome Gallies, and deſired the *Sicyonians* to do the like, intending to tranſport their Army on board them: Hereupon *Archidamus* ſacrificed for an Expedition.

Dyſnicetus Archon.

The *Thebans* immediately after the Fight, ſent a Meſſenger Crowned with a Garland to *Athens*, to relate the greatneſs of the Victory, and to deſire that they would joyn with them againſt the *Lacedemonians*, declaring they might now revenge themſelves on them for all their former Injuries: At that time the Senate was ſitting in the *Citadel*, but when they heard the News, any one might ſee that they were extreamly troubled at it, for they neither ſent the Herald any Preſents, nor made any mention of Aſſiſtance, and ſo he departed from thence. The *Thebans* ſent alſo an Expreſs to *Jaſon* their Ally, deſiring him to ſend them Succours, conſidering with themſelves what was likely to be the iſſue of theſe things. He immediately

diately ſet out a Fleet, pretending to aſſiſt them by Sea; and taking the *Mercenaries* with his own Guards, though the *Phoceans* had made War upon him without declaring, yet he paſſed by Land into *Bæotia*, appearing in ſeveral places ſooner than there was any News of his March, proceeding a great way in his Voyage before all his Forces could be aſſembled; ſhewing thereby, *That things of great Importance are effected eaſier by Diligence than Force.*

When he arrived in *Bæotia*, the *Thebans* ſignified to him, that they had then an opportunity of falling upon the *Lacedemonians*, and that whilſt he attacked them with his *Mercenaries* from an Eminence, they would ſet upon them in the Front. But he diverted them from this their Deſign, adviſing them not to aim ſtill at greater things, ſince they had performed ſo brave an Exploit already, leſt they ſhould be deprived of the advantage of the Victory they had lately obtain'd. *Don't you know* (ſays he) *that when you were reduced to extremities, you then became victorious, and therefore you ſhould conſider, that if the* Lacedemonians *be once made weary of their lives, they too will grow deſperate, and fight it out to the laſt man.*

God

God alſo is ſometimes pleaſed to humble the Mighty, and exalt the Mean. With theſe Words he diſſwaded the *Thebans* from putting all to the hazard.

On the other hand he ſhewed the *Lacedemonians* the difference between a routed, and Victorious Army; but if you (ſays he) would have this Defeat forgotten, I adviſe you to be quiet, till you have recovered, and raiſed a greater Power, and then ſet upon the *Thebans*, who are now invincible. You underſtand (ſays he) that there are at this time ſome of your Confederates, who diſcourſe of treating with the Enemy, therefore do you endeavour by all means to make a Truce, which I the more deſire out of a Deſign to preſerve you, both in reſpect of the Alliance between my Father and you, and for that I my ſelf am your Publick Hoſt. This he ſpoke, though perhaps rather with intention to divide them, that ſo both might ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance. The *Lacedemonians* hearing him ſay ſo, deſired him to negotiate a Truce; and when News came that it was concluded, the Generals commanded all to prepare themſelves, and after they had ſupped, to decamp in the Night, that by break of Day, they might be marching

ing up *Cithæron*. When they had ſupped, the Generals commanded them to march before they ſlept, and immediately when it was dark, they took the way of *Creuſis*, chuſing rather to paſs undiſcovered, than rely upon the Truce. But they marcht on very heavily (for being it was Night, they departed in fear, and the way was bad) and came to *Ægoſthena* in the Territory of *Megara*. There they met *Archidamus*'s Army, who ſtayed till all the Confederates were come up, and then marched with his Forces as far as *Corinth*; where he diſmiſt the Auxiliaries, and marcht with the *Spartans* home.

Jaſon returning through *Phocis* took the Suburbs of *Hyampolis*, deſtroyed the Countrey, and killed a great many, but paſſed through the reſt thereof without any Action at all. When he came to *Heraclea*, he took the Town, not that he feared any would fall into his Countrey, though that Paſs were open; but conſidered rather, if any ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of *Heraclea*, which ſtood in a ſtrait place, they might keep him out, if he ſhould entertain a Deſign of invading *Greece*. After he returned back into *Theſſaly* he became a very great man, both becauſe he was made General by a

Law

Law of the *Theſſalians*, and for that he maintained a great many Mercenaries, both Foot and Horſe that were experienced men, and excellent Soldiers; being yet greater, by reaſon of the ſtrong Alliance he had already, & becauſe ſtill more deſired it; but the greateſt of all the men in his time, for that no one Enemy was a Match for him.

When the *Pythian* Games drew near he gave out an Order amongſt the Cities to feed Oxen, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs, and to provide them for the Sacrifice. 'Tis ſaid that he taxed every City, tho' moderately, no leſs than one thouſand Oxen, & ten thouſand other Cattle, proclaiming a Crown of Gold for a Prize to that City, which fed the fatteſt Ox for the Sacrifice of *Apollo*; and ſent Orders to the *Theſſalians* to prepare themſelves for the Campagn, againſt the *Pythian* Games; having thoughts, as the report went, to be Preſident himſelf of the Solemnity and Prizes. But what he thought to do with the Sacred Money is not yet known; for it being reported that when the *Delphians* conſulted what they ſhould do, if *Jaſon* offered to ſeize it; the God anſwered, that he could take care of that himſelf. This man that was ſo great, and entertained

tained ſuch vaſt Deſigns, whilſt he was muſtering and exerciſing the *Pheræan* Horſe, being ſat down and giving an anſwer to ſome that had buſineſs with him, was killed and cut in pieces by ſeven young men that came to him, pretending ſome Differences among themſelves; the Guards came briskly to his Aſſiſtance, and one of the *Ruffians* being yet ſtabbing him was wounded with a Lance and killed; another mounting his Horſe was left behind, and after he had received ſeveral Wounds, died alſo; the reſt got upon Horſes they had laid and eſcaped; being honourably received in the *Greek* Towns whereſoever they came. By which 'tis apparent the *Greeks* were in great fear leſt he ſhould have played the Tyrant with them.

After his Death *Polydorus* and *Polyphron* Brothers, were made *Generaliſſimo*'s; but in their Journey to *Lariſſa*, *Polydorus* whilſt he was ſleeping in the Night, was killed by his Brother *Polyphron*, as 'tis thought; for his Death was ſuddain and without any apparent Cauſes. *Polyphron* governed one Year, converting his Generalſhip into a Tyranny; putting *Polydamus* and eight more of the Principal Citizens to death at *Pharſalus*, and baniſhed

ed ſeveral out of *Larìſſa*. Soon after this he was killed himſelf by *Alexander*, who revenged *Polydorus*'s death, and put an end to that Tyranny. This *Alexander* taking upon him the Adminiſtration of Government became troubleſome both to the *Theſſalians* and *Thebans*; an Enemy to the *Athenians*, a Rogue at Land, and a Pirate at Sea. He having plaid ſuch pranks was murdered by the inſtigation of his Wife, and aſſiſtance of her Brothers; ſhe having told them that *Alexander* had a Deſign againſt them, and hid them in her Houſe a whole Day. At Night having laid him to ſleep drunk, ſhe light a Candle, and brought out his Sword; but finding that her Brothers delayed to make their attempt upon him, ſhe told them if they would not do the Work ſhe would awake him. When they entered ſhe pulled to the door, and barred it till her Husband was diſpatched. Some ſay this hatred againſt her Huſband was, becauſe when he had impriſoned his Page a beautiful Youth, and ſhe interceeded for his releaſe, he brought him out, and cut his Throat; others, for that having no Children by her, he had ſent to *Thebes*, and engaged himſelf to *Jaſon*'s Wife. Theſe are the reports that

that go about concerning his Wife's conſpiracy. *Tiſiphonus* the eldeſt Brother held the Government from the time of the Conſpiracy till the writing of this Book. And now having related the Affairs of *Theſſaly* that were in *Jaſon*'s time, and from his death till the Government of *Tiſiphonus*, I return from my Digreſſion.

Afterwards *Archidamus* who was going with Recruits to *Leuctra*, returned home with the Army. The *Athenians* conſidering that the *Peloponneſians* thought they were ſtill obliged to ſerve the *Lacedemonians* in the Wars, and that the *Lacedemonians* were now in the ſame condition they had formerly reduced the *Athenians* to; ſent about to all the Cities that would come into the League propoſed by the King. When they met together, they made a Decree that thoſe who were to come into the Treaty ſhould take this Oath. *I will maintain the Peace preſcribed by the King, as alſo the Decrees of the* Athenians, *and their Allies. If any one ſhall make War againſt any of theſe Cities that have ſworn to this Peace, I will oppoſe them with my utmoſt Power.* All the reſt were very well ſatisfied with the Oath; only the *Eleans* objected, that

the Cities of the *Marganeans*, *Scylluntians*, and *Triphylians* might not be free; because these were their Towns. But the *Athenians* and the rest decreeing that pursuant to the King's Letters, both the lesser and greater Cities should be free; they deputed some to go and swear the Chief Magistrates in every City. And all took the Oath except the *Eleans*. Then the *Mantineans* as being absolutely free, meeting together, decreed to make *Mantinea* one Town, and to wall it; but the *Lacedemonians* thinking it an hard case that this should be done without their Consent, sent *Agesilaus* thither, who was said to have a kind of Fatherly care over them. When he arrived the Chiefmen told him they would not assemble the People for him: but bid him tell them his Business. He promised them if they would forbear fortifying at present, he would procure that the Wall should be built with little charge, and with the approbation of the *Lacedemonians*. But being told they could not possibly desist because it was decreed by the Community, *Agesilaus* went way in an heat, though he thought a War would not be declared against them, by reason the Peace was made for Liberty. Some of the *Arcadian* Cities sent men to the

the *Mantineans* to aſſiſt them in carrying on the Wall, and the *Eleans* contributed three Talents of Silver towards the Charge of it. Thus ſtood Affairs with the *Mantineans*. 563 l. 10 s.

The *Tegeans* of *Callibius*'s and *Proxenus*'s Party conſulted about aſſembling all the People of *Arcadia*, and that whatever was carried at the Convention of the States, ſhould be Law unto all the Towns; but *Staſippus*'s Faction endeavoured that the Ancient Laws might be continued both in City and Country; yet being overpowred in the Theaters, and concluding that if the People met, they ſhould far out-do them in Numbers, took Arms; which *Staſippus*'s Faction ſeeing, they armed too, nor were they inferiour to them in Numbers. They fell to it, and killed *Proxenus*, with ſome others, the reſt they put to flight, but did not purſue them, *Staſippus* being a man who deſired not to ſhed the Blood of his Countreymen. *Callibius* and his men retiring to the Walls and Gates of *Mantinea*, when they ſaw the Enemy made no farther attempt upon them, got together in a Body and remained quiet, having ſent before-hand to the *Mantineans* for Relief.

In the mean while they treated with *Staſippus* about a Reconciliation; but as ſoon as the *Mantineans* appeared to be on their March, ſome got upon the Wall, and perceiving them coming to their Aſſiſtance with all ſpeed, cried out to them that they ſhould make haſt, and opened the Gates for them. *Staſippus*'s Faction having notice of what had paſſed, ſallied out of the Gate that leads to *Palantium*, and getting into *Diana*'s Temple before the Purſuers over-took them, ſhut themſelves in, and lay ſtill. But the Enemy purſuing them, and getting on the top of the Temple, uncovered the Roof, and pelted thoſe in the Temple with Tiles. They ſeeing themſelves in this extremity, deſired the others to deſiſt, and they would come forth; but the Enemy having gotten them into their Clutches, bound them, and putting them into a Cart, carried them away to *Tegea*; where they paſſed Sentence on them, and the *Mantineans*, and put them all to death. Upon this the *Tegeans* of *Staſippus*'s Faction being about eight hundred fled to *Lacedemon*.

Lyſiſtratus Archon.

After this the *Lacedemonians* purſuant to the Peace, reſolved forthwith to revenge both thoſe that were killed, and them that were

were baniſhed, by making War againſt the *Mantineans*, for that they contrary to the Treaty had invaded the *Tegeans* in an Hoſtile manner. Thereupon the *Ephori* decreed an Army to be raiſed, and gave the Command of it to *Ageſilaus*. At this time the reſt of the *Arcadians* were aſſembled at *Aſea*; but the *Orchomenians* refuſing to incorporate with them, out of hatred to the *Mantineans*, and receiving the Mercenaries raiſed at *Corinth*, and commanded by *Polytropus*; the *Mantineans* remained at home to obſerve them. The *Heræans* and *Lepreans* aſſiſted the *Lacedemonians* this Campagn againſt the *Maintineans*. *Ageſilaus* aſſoon as he had an auſpicious Sacrifice for his Expedition, paſſed directly into *Arcadia*, and ſurpriſed *Eutæa*, a Town in the Confines; where though he had found the Old men, Women, and Children at home in their Houſes (thoſe that were able to bear Arms being gone to the *Arcadian* Army) nevertheleſs he did no harm to the Town, but permitted their People to enjoy their Habitations, obliging the Soldiers to pay for what they had; and if any thing was taken from the Townſmen by force, when he came into the Town he ſearcht it out, and reſtored it them again. More-

over whilſt he ſtaid there in expectation of *Polytropus*'s Mercenaries, he built up as much of the Wall as was neceſſary.

About this time the *Mantineans* making War upon the *Orchomenians*, the former retreated from their Walls with great difficulty and loſt ſome men; yet when they retired to *Elymia*, and the *Orchomenian* Heavy-armed men purſued no further, *Polytropus*'s Troops charged them very boldly. Thereupon the *Mantineans* conſidering that if they did not repulſe them, many of their own men would be deſtroyed by the Enemie's Darts, faced about, and charged their Purſuers. In this Skirmiſh *Polytropus* was ſlain, and many more had been killed in the flight, if the *Phliaſian* Horſe had not wheeled about, and ſtopt their further purſuit by attacking the *Mantineans* Rear.

After this Exploit the *Mantineans* returned home. *Ageſilaus* hearing of it, and concluding that the *Orchomenian* Mercenaries would not joyn them, advanced in this manner; The firſt day he ſupped in the Territory (of *Tegea*) and the day after paſſing into that of *Mantinea*, he encamped under the Hills that are to the Weſtward of the City. There he burnt the Countrey, and deſtroyed the

Fields.

Fields. The *Arcadians* that were aſſembled at *Aſea*, got into *Tegea* by Night; and next Day *Ageſilaus* encamped within twenty Furlongs of *Mantinea*. The *Arcadians* coming with a ſtrong Body of Heavy-armed men from *Tegea*, and having reached the Hills betwixt *Mantinea* and that Place, they were very earneſt to joyn the *Mantineans*, becauſe the *Argives* had not ſent all their Forces thither. Some there were who perſwaded *Ageſilaus* to fall upon them ſeparately; but he fearing that whilſt he attacked them, the *Mantineans* out of the Town would fall upon his Flank and Rear, concluded it would be beſt to let them joyn, and then if they would fight, they ſhould have a fair and open Field.

By this time the *Arcadians* were united, and *Ageſilaus* as he was ſacrificing before the Camp by day-break, diſcovered the Targetiers from *Orchomenus*, together with the *Phliaſian* Horſe, who marched in the Night by *Mantinea*: whereupon *Ageſilaus* was obliged to return to his Arms, and the reſt to run to their Ranks. In the Evening he encamped undiſcovered in a Vally ſurrounded by the Mountains on the back of the *Mantinean* Territory. Next day as he was ſacrificing at

the Head of the Army, he discovered the *Mantineans* assembled on the top of those Hills that overlookt his Rear, upon which he resolved to draw his men out of the Valley, but fearing if he marcht from thence, that the Enemy would fall upon his Rear, he lay still, and commanded those in the Rear to face about, to direct their Arms towards the Enemy, and to move to the right towards their Leader. By this means he both drew his Troops out of the strait Pass, and re-inforc'd his Battalion, which when he had doubled, he marcht into the Plain in that Order and there extended it nine or ten deep.

The *Mantineans* came out no more, because the *Eleans* their Confederates had perswaded them not to fight till the *Thebans* had joyned them, being assured of
187. l. their coming, for that they had borrowed ten Talents of them for this expedition. The *Arcadians* when they heard this kept themselves within the Walls of *Mantinea*. *Agesilaus* though he had a great desire to march away with the Army, it being in the midst of Winter, yet he stay'd three days in the Neighbourhood of *Mantinea*, that he might not be thought to hasten his departure for fear of the Enemy. On the fourth day he refreshed his Army early,

early, and began his march, making ſhew as if he would encamp in the Place where he did when he firſt ſet out from *Eutæa*. But when none of the *Arcadians* appeared, he, though very much belated, marched with diligence to *Eutæa*, intending to depart with the Heavy-armed men before the Enemies fires were diſcovered, that none might ſay he fled, whereby he ſeemed to have allayed the conſternation his Countreymen were in before, becauſe though he had entered *Arcadia*, and burned it, yet none would undertake to fight him. As ſoon as he arrived in *Laconia* he ſent home his *Spartans*, and diſmiſſed the Neighbouring Troops to go to their reſpective Cities.

The *Arcadians* receiving Intelligence, that *Ageſilaus* was marcht out of their Countrey, and had disbanded his Army, got together in a ſtrong Body, & fell upon the *Heræans*, for refuſing to incorporate with them, for invading *Arcadia* with the *Lacedemonians*, for firing their Houſes, and cutting down the Trees in their Incurſions. But when there came News that the *Thebans* were coming to relieve *Mantinea*, they left *Heræa* and joyned them: after the Armies were united, the *Thebans* thinking all was well, becauſe

becauſe they had ſuccoured their Allies, and no Enemy appeared in the Countrey, prepared for their departure. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleans* perſuaded the *Thebans* to march directly into *Laconia*, making oſtentation of their Numbers, and magnifying their Army, for all the *Bœotians* were very well diſciplined, and elated with their Victory at *Leuctra*. There followed them in this Expedition their Subjects the *Phoceans*, and Forces out of all the Cities of *Eubœa*, both the *Locri*, and Horſe, and Targetiers out of *Theſſaly*.

Acarnanians, Heracleans, and Melieans.

They therefore well informing the *Thebans* of the Deſolation which was in *Laconia*, entreated them, that they would not by any means march away before they had made an Incurſion into that Countrey. The *Thebans* indeed gave them the hearing, but conſidered on the other hand, that *Laconia* was very difficult to be invaded, thinking there might be Guards ſet to defend thoſe Places which were moſt eaſie to be paſſed. For *Iſcholaus* was at *Ius* in the Territory of *Sciris* with a Garriſon of four hundred ſtout men, conſiſting partly of half Slaves, and partly of the Exiles of *Tegea*. There was another Garriſon too near *Leuctra* beyond *Maleatis*. Moreover

Moreover the *Thebans* conſidered that the *Lacedemonians* would ſoon unite, and that they would fight no where better than upon their own Ground. Upon all theſe Conſiderations they were not very forward to march to *Lacedemon*; but afterwards when ſome came from *Caryæ*, and reported the Countrey was in no poſture of Defence, proffering to guide the Army, and offering themſelves to be cut in pieces if they impoſed upon them; There came alſo ſeveral of the Neighbourhood to invite and to inform them, that if they did but appear in the Countrey, they would revolt, and added, that the Neighbours were lately ſummoned by the *Spartans*, but would not aſſiſt them. The *Thebans* hearing all theſe Reports, and from ſeveral hands, were over-perſwaded, and fell into *Laconia* about *Caryæ*, as did the *Arcadians* near *Ius* in the Territory of *Sciris*. Though if *Iſcholaus* had but gone before, and ſecured the difficult Paſſes, 'twas ſaid, none could have entered on that ſide; but he deſigning to joyn thoſe of *Ius*, tarried for them at that Village, where the *Arcadians* came upon them in great Numbers; and here *Iſcholaus*'s men facing about, and charging the Enemy, got the better. But at laſt

when

when thoſe on the Houſes threw their Lances, and darted their Javelins both at the Rear and Flank, *Iſcholaus* and all the reſt fell, except any might eſcape undiſtinguiſhed.

The *Arcadians* having performed this Exploit, marcht towards *Caryæ* to the *Thebans*, who having heard of their Succeſs, came down into the Enemies Countrey the more boldly, and immediately deſtroyed and burnt *Sellaſia*. When they came into the Champion Countrey they encamped in a Grove of *Apollo*'s, but made no attempt the day following to paſs over the Bridge into the City, becauſe they found that the Enemies heavy-arm'd men were in the Temple of *Minerva Alea*, but left the *Eurotas* on the right, and marcht on plundering, deſtroying and burning the Houſes which were richly furniſht. The Women in the City, having never ſeen the face of an Enemy before could not endure ſo much as to behold the ſmoke. The men though their fewneſs appeared, being poſted in ſeveral Places, nevertheleſs defended the City though it had no Walls. The Magiſtrates thought it convenient to proclaim to the Slaves, that if they would form themſelves into Companies, and come into the Service,

vice, as many as did ſhould have Security to be free. 'Tis ſaid, there were above ſix thouſand liſted in an inſtant, ſo that when they were armed, and made ſo great an appearance they ſtruck a terrour into the *Spartans* themſelves. But when the Mercenaries from *Orchomenus* ſtaid there, and the *Phliaſians*, *Corinthians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Pellenians*, with ſome Forces from other Cities came to their aſſiſtance, they then leſs dreaded thoſe new raiſed men.

The *Theban* Army advancing towards *Amyclæ*, paſſed the *Eurotas* there, and forthwith they cut down as many Trees as they could where they encamped, and placing them before their Camp guarded it therewith. The *Arcadians* took different meaſures, for they left their Arms, and went to plundering. Three or four days after, all the *Theban* and *Elean* Horſe, together with the *Phoceans*, *Theſſalians*, and *Locrians* came to the * Place, and the Temple of † *Neptune*, which the *Lacedemonian* Horſe confronted, though they were but a contemptible Number; and having placed an Ambuſcade of three hundred men in the Temple of the *Tyndaridæ*, they ſallied out at the ſame time that the Horſe advanced. The Enemy never

* Ἱππόδρομος.
† *Geaochus.*

never ſtood them, but gave Ground which ſeveral of the Foot ſeeing gave ground too. After the *Lacedemonians* had given over the purſuit, the *Thebans* halted and encamped again; but it being thought ſomewhat too dangerous an Adventure to attempt the City a ſecond time, the Army decamped, and marched towards *Helos*, and *Gytheum*. The Cities which had no Walls they burnt, and attacked *Gytheum*, where the *Lacedemonians* had a Yard for building of Ships, three days together. Some of the Neighbourhood, who ſerved the *Thebans*, fell upon the *Lacedemonians*.

The *Athenians* hearing of theſe Paſſages, and being very ſollicitous what meaſures to take concerning the *Lacedemonian* Affairs, called an Aſſembly by order of the Senate, at which the *Lacedemonians*, and the reſt of their remaining Friends were preſent. The *Lacedemonians* ſpoke all of them much to the ſame purpoſe, putting the *Athenians* in mind, that both States had aſſiſted each other in the moſt Critical times with happy Succeſs, and ſhew how they drave the XXX Tyrants out of *Athens*, and that on the contrary the *Athenians* had readily aſſiſted them, when the *Meſſenians* beſieged them; adding the good Succeſs when both acted joyntly,

Aratus, Ocyllus, Pharax, Etymocles, Olonthens.

joyntly, and commemorating how they with their united Forces had driven the *Barbarian* out of *Greece*, reminding them alſo that the *Athenians* were choſen Generals at ſea, and Truſtees for the publick mony by the advice of the *Lacedemonians*, and on the other hand the *Lacedemonians* by the directions of the *Athenians* with Univerſal conſent were choſen Generals at Land.

The *Athenians* were entruſted with a Fond of Money raiſed by the *Greeks* to carry on a War againſt the *Perſian*. *Thucid. lib.* 1.

One of the Ambaſſadors made a Speech to this purpoſe. *If both the States, My Lords of* Athens, *joyn together, there is hopes that the* Thebans, *as was formerly diſcourſed, may be totally ruined.* The *Athenians* gave not much heed to what he ſaid, but ſuch a kind of muttering as this ran through the Aſſembly, how that they ſaid ſo now, though when they were in proſperity, they were our bitter Adverſaries. Yet the moſt material Argument the *Lacedemonians* were thought to urge, was, That when the *Lacedemonians* had ſubdued the *Athenians*, and the *Thebans* would have razed the City, the former hindred them from putting their Deſign in Execution. So the general Diſcourſe was, that they ſhould have Succors purſuant to the Treaty. For the *Arcadians*, and their Confederates did not make War upon

upon the *Lacedemonians* for any Injury they had done, but becauſe they aſſiſted the *Tegeans* againſt whom the *Mantineans* had employed their Arms contrary to the Treaty. Upon theſe Debates a Clamour ran through the Aſſembly, ſome ſaying that the *Mantineans* did well in aſſiſting *Proxenus*'s Party who were murdered by *Staſippus*'s Faction, and others that they had broke the Treaty by making of War againſt the *Tegeans*. Whiles the Aſſembly were debating the Matter, *Cliteles* the *Corinthian* roſe up and ſpoke.

Cliteles's Speech.

Perhaps, My Lords of *Athens*, *it may be a Queſtion who were the Aggreſſors: Yet can any one lay to our charge, that we ſince the Concluſion of the Peace, have attempted any Place, made any Depredations, or ravaged any Countrey? Though the* Thebans *have invaded ours, and cut down the Trees, fired our Houſes, plundered our Goods, and drave away our Cattle. How then can you ſatisfie your Oath, if you do not ſuccour us, being we are ſo manifeſtly injured, and the Ratification of the Treaty was by your procurement.* The *Athenians* heard him with Applauſe, he having offered what was equitable and juſt. After him *Patrocles* the *Phliaſian* roſe up and ſpake.

I ſuppoſe, My Lords of *Athens*, *'tis manifeſt to all, that when the* Thebans *have ruined the* Lacedemonians, *in the next place they will attack you; for they are ſenſible that you are the only obſtacle, which hinder them from becoming Lords of all* Greece. *Seeing therefore Affairs ſtand thus, you will in my opinion do your ſelves as much Service as the* Lacedemonians, *by making War upon them. For I imagine it will be much more troubleſome to have the* Thebans *who border upon you, and are ill affected, to be Lords of* Greece, *than to have your Enemies at a farther diſtance. And you will defend your ſelves with more advantage, now whilſt there remain ſome Allies, than if they be ruined, and you alone be forced to fight it out with the* Thebans. *If any fear that the* Lacedemonians, *if they eſcape this time will create you trouble hereafter, conſider that we need not apprehend the growth of thoſe we have deſerved well of, but thoſe we have injured. Moreover you ſhould take this into conſideration, that States as well as private Perſons ought to make Friends, when in a flouriſhing condition, that if they be reduced to a ſtrait, they may expect aſſiſtance from thoſe they have obliged. Providence has at this time put a ſignal oppor-* *Patrocles's Speech.*

tunity into your hands, and if you will ſuccor the Lacedemonians *in this their diſtreſs, you will for ever make them your moſt faithful Friends. Nor will you have a few witneſſes of your Benefaction, the Confederates and Enemies, nay the whole World ſhall be eye-witneſſes hereof, the Gods themſelves who have in proſpect all things paſt, preſent and to come, ſhall be Spectators of it from Heaven. Nothing of this ſhall be forgotten, for if the* Lacedemonians *prove ungrateful to you, who will aſſiſt them at any time hereafter? though in Charity we ought to hope the beſt of them, and that they won't be diſingenuous. For there is no People have had greater Principles of Honour than they, nor more carefully ſhun'd the appearance of baſeneſs. Beſides, conſider if ever any danger from the* Barbarian *ſhall threaten our Countrey, whom can you confide in more, or would rather chuſe for your Seconds, than thoſe who being poſted at the* Thermopylæ, *choſe rather to die upon the Spot than live, and let the* Barbarian *enter* Greece? *Ought not we therefore in Juſtice to do them all the good Offices we can, who have acquitted themſelves with us with ſo much bravery, and in all probability will do the like for the future? Nor would*

would you looſe your labour in ſhewing them reſpect upon the Allies account, for aſſure your ſelves, that theſe who continue their faithful Friends in diſtreſs, will in honour render you the like piece of Service in their Name. If theſe States of ours that would engage in this danger, ſeem inconſiderable, yet by the conjunction of yours, they will make up a Formidable Power. Heretofore, My Lords of *Athens, I had your City in admiration, when I heard all who were either injured or had any apprehenſions of their Enemies fled hither for refuge, and obtained the relief they ſought. Now I hear no longer, but am preſent and ſee, that the* Lacedemonians, *the moſt famous Nation in the World, and their faithful Allies are come hither to implore your Aſſiſtance. I my ſelf ſee the* Lacedemonians, *who formerly could not be prevailed upon by the* Thebans *utterly to deſtroy you, now begging of you not to ſuffer the* Lacedemonians *to be deſtroyed, who preſerved you. 'Tis to the Honour of your Anceſtors, that they would not permit thoſe* Argives *to lie unburied, who periſhed at the Citadel of* Thebes, *it will be much more to your Fame, not to let the* Lacedemonians *yet living either to be oppreſſed, or deſtroyed. This was honourably*

done by you, when you curbed the Insolence of Euristheus *to preserve* Hercules's *Posterity; but is it not more honourable to save not only the Princes, but the whole Republick? and this most honourable of all, if when the* Lacedemonians *preserved you by a word of their mouth, for you in return to expose your Lives in their Defence? If it be matter of so great joy for us only to speak in the behalf of such Gallant men, it will be thought a generous part in you, to assist them with your Arms, and since you have been several times Allies and Enemies, to remember rather the good Offices than the Injuries received from them; whereby you will make a return, not only in their Name, but in the Name of all* Greece, *to those who have acquitted themselves with so much Gallantry in it's Defence.*

The *Athenians* deliberatiug upon the Matter, would not endure to hear the opposite Party, but resolved that the *Lacedemonians* should be assisted with their whole Force, and chose *Iphicrates* their General, who having a lucky Sacrifice, commanded his men to sup in the Academy, whither several arrived before him. Soon after he began his March, and the whole Army followed as going upon

upon ſome glorious Expedition. But when he came to *Corinth*, he remained there ſome Days; for which delay the Army blamed him, yet when he began to march again, the Army followed him with that alacrity, that they would readily have attacked *Argos* it ſelf, if he had led them againſt it: In the mean while the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, *Eleans*, and ſeveral of the Enemies, who were Borderers left the Service, going about ravaging and ſpoyling what ever they could light on. The *Thebans*, and the reſt were for returning home, becauſe they ſaw their Army waſted, and their Proviſions grow daily ſcarcer, ſome being ſpent, others taken from them, ſome ſquandred away, and others burnt. Beſides it was Winter, and all deſired to return back to their own Countrey. So *Iphicrates* marcht with the *Athenians* out of *Corinth* at the ſame time they left *Laconia*.

I find no fault with his Conduct in other Expeditions; but I obſerve all he did in this, was either done to no purpoſe, or with no advantage. For when he undertook to defend *Oneum*, and cut off the Retreat of the *Bœotians*, he left the moſt important Paſs at *Cenchreæ* unguard-

ed; and ſent all the *Athenian* and *Corinthian* Horſe upon the Scout to diſcover whether the *Thebans* had paſſed the *Oneum*, though a great many could ſee no more than a few, and a ſmall Party if they were obliged to retreat, could retire with more ſecurity than a great Body. Is it not therefore a great piece of Imprudence to ſend out a Party, which is weaker than the Forces of the Enemy? For being the Horſe were many, they covered a great deal of Ground; and when they were obliged to retire, they fell upon ſeveral rough Places, ſo that no leſs than twenty of them periſht, and the *Thebans* marched away at their Liberty.

XENOPHON'S History OF THE Affairs of Greece.

LIB. VII.

THE CONTENTS.

A Treaty betwixt the Lacedemonians *and the* Athenians. *The Riſe of the* Arcadians *under* Lycomedes. *The* Thebans *projecting to enſlave* Greece, *ſend* Pelopidas *to treat with the King of* Perſia. *The ſignal Fidelity of the* Phliaſians *to the* Lacedemonians. Euphron *the Tyrant of* Sicyon *aſſaſſinated. The Battel at* Mantinea *wherein* Epaminondas *was ſlain.*

Olymp. 103. *Niuſigenes Archon.*

THE Year following, the Plenipotentiaries of the *Lacedemonians* and Confederates came to *Athens*, to treat of an Alliance between the *Lacedemonians* and the *Athenians*. And ſeveral as well of the Allies, as *Athenians*, declaring it ought to be made upon equal and like Terms, *Procles* the *Phliaſian* made this Speech:

My Lords of Athens; *ſince you have thought fit to make the* Lacedemonians *your Friends, you ought, in my opinion, to conſider how this Alliance may be made laſting. If therefore we make a League that may be advantageous to both ſides, ſuch an one, in all probability will be longeſt kept. There only remains the point about the Command in Chief to be ſettled; in other matters we are almoſt agreed. The States have already reſolved, that you ſhould command by Sea, and the* Lacedemonians *by Land. Which* Partition *ſeems to me, not to have been the contrivance of human wit, but the Reſult of the Divine Wiſdom, and the diſpoſition of Providence. For firſt of all ye have a place exceedingly well contriv'd by nature for it, and many Towns lie near your City that depend upon the Commerce at Sea, all which*

which are of leſs power than yours. You have Ports too, without which your Naval Forces would be of no uſe, and many Gallies: 'Tis a Maxim alſo of your State to maintain a powerful Fleet. Moreover, the Trades which belong to Shipping *are all peculiar to you, who far excel other Nations in the Art of Navigation. Moſt of you ſubſiſt by the Sea; ſo that at the ſame time you follow your own private occaſions, and gain experience in the Maritime Diſcipline. Nor can any ſet out ſo numerous a Fleet of Gallies as you, which is of no ſmall moment towards the obtaining the Command in Chief. For all deſire to join with them that are moſt powerful, and Heaven has conferr'd that Happineſs on you: for tho you have had ſo many, and ſo great Engagements at Sea, yet you have ſeldom miſcarried, but commonly been victorious; ſo that there can hardly be any Enterpriſe in which the Allies will refuſe to engage with you. Conſider then that this is a matter of the greateſt moment and conſequence to you; for tho the* Lacedemonians *have made war upon you ſo many years, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of your Country, yet they never endanger'd your Ruine, till Heaven gave them the Sovereignty of the Sea; and then they ſoon*

brought

brought you under ſubjection. 'Tis plain therefore your preſervation depends wholly on the Sea; and ſince you are ſo fitted for it by nature, how can you in honor ſuffer the Lacedemonians *to command there? For firſt they acknowledge themſelves leſs experienced in Naval Affairs than you are; and beſides, the dangers that they run in Sea-fights are not equal to yours; for they adventure only the loſs of their Men on board their Gallies; but you fight for your Wives, your Children, and your whole Country. This is the ſtate of your Affairs; and that of the* Lacedemonians, *is as follows.*

Firſt, they inhabit an in-land Country; and therefore, tho they be ſhut out from Sea, they can ſubſiſt well enough on the Land. For this reaſon they are trained up immediately from their Child-hood in the Land-ſervice; and by their exact Diſcipline, which is very material, become as powerful at Land as you at Sea. Moreover, they they can as ſoon draw out a potent Army, as you can equip a Fleet; which in all probability will be a ſtrong inducement to the Confederates to join with them. Again, as Heaven has given them ſucceſs by Land, ſo it has to you at Sea; for of the many Battels they have fought, they have been victorious

victorious in moſt, and miſcarried but in few. You may underſtand then by their Atchievments, that the care of the Land-ſervice is no leſs neceſſary for them, than that of Sea for you. For tho you have made war with them at Sea theſe ſeveral years, and beat them ſeveral times, yet you did nothing conſiderable towards the ſubduing them, till once they were vanquiſh'd by Land, and then their Wives, their Children, and all their Country were in danger. Would it not then be an hard caſe for them to reſign up their command at Land to others, who are capable of diſcharging it ſo well themſelves? I therefore have declared my ſelf to be of the opinion of the Senate, as judging it moſt advantageous for both ſides; and may all your Counſels be crowned with ſucceſs, whileſt you conſult the common intereſt of us all.

Thus he. His Oration was highly commended both by the *Athenians*, and all the *Lacedemonians* there preſent. Then *Cephiſodotus* riſing up, came forth into the midſt of the Aſſembly, and ſpoke,

My Lords of Athens, *Don't you perceive your ſelves to be impoſed upon? and if you will pleaſe to hear me, I'll ſoon make*

make it appear in what manner. You forſooth ſhall command at Sea, and the Lacedemonians *your Confederates will perhaps find Captains of Gallies, and Soldiers that are* Lacedemonians *: but the Seamen ſhall be either Slaves or Hirelings; and theſe are the men that you muſt command. But when they ſhall ſummon you to joyn with them in any Expedition by Land, you muſt ſend them Horſe and heavy-arm'd men: ſo that they ſhall command you your ſelves; but you only their Slaves, and ſuch kind of pitiful Fellows. Anſwer me then,* ſaid he, *you* Timocrates *of* Lacedemon, *did you not affirm but juſt now, that you came to treat with us upon equal terms? I did ſo,* ſaid *Timocrates. Is there any thing then,* ſaid *Cephiſodotus, more equal than that we ſhould command in our turns both at Sea and Land: and if there be any advantage in the command at Sea, that ye ſhould participate of it, as well as we of that at Land?*

The *Athenians* hearing this, were perſwaded to alter their opinion, and decreed, that each ſide ſhould command five days alternately. Afterwards when they and their Confederates made War againſt *Corinth*, 'twas thought convenient to guard the Mount *Oneum* with their joint

joint Forces; ſo that when the *Thebans* and their Allies march'd thither, they poſted themſelves in ſeveral parts of the Mount, and the *Lacedemonians* with the *Pellenians*, in thoſe places which were eaſieſt to be aſſaulted. When the *Thebans* came within thirty Furlongs of the Enemy, they encamped on the Plain, and computing what time they ſhould ſpend in their March from their firſt ſetting out, they advanced towards the *Lacedemonians* by twilight. Nor were they miſtaken in their time; for they fell upon them and the *Pellenians* juſt as the Night-Watch ended, and every one was raiſing himſelf out of his Bed. There the *Thebans* being provided, fell upon thoſe that were not; thoſe in order, upon the diſordered. As ſoon as thoſe that eſcaped the Action retired to the adjacent Hill, the *Lacedemonian* Collonel might have taken what heavy-arm'd Men, and Targetiers of the Confederates he would, and by their aſſiſtance have poſſeſs'd himſelf of the place; for Proviſions might eaſily have been conveyed from *Cenchreæ* thither; but he neglected this opprtunity. For whilſt the *Thebans* were in ſuſpence whether they ſhould march down the way to *Sicyon*, or retreat back again, the

the Colonel made Truce, though moſt people thought 'twas more for the *Theban's* advantage than his own: after this he marched off with his Army.

The *Thebans* march'd ſeverally down the Hill, and having joyned their Confederates, immediately attacked *Sicycon* and *Pellene*: Afterwards they entred *Epidaurus*, burnt all the Country, and marched back greatly ſcorning and contemning their Enemy; and when they approach'd near *Corinth*, they run full ſpeed up to the Gates that look towards *Phlius*, with an intention to break in, if they found them open; but ſome of the Light-arm'd men ſallying out of the Town, met their Body not above four hundred foot from the Walls, and mounting upon the Monuments, and Eminent Places, killed a great many of the foremoſt of them with their Spears and Lances, routing and purſuing them about three or four Furlongs. After the Action, the *Corinthians* dragging the dead bodies nearer the Walls, reſtored them upon Truce, and erected a Trophy: Upon this the *Lacedemonian* Allies took heart again.

About this time there arrived Auxiliaries from *Dionyſius* to the *Lacedemonians*, with above

above twenty Gallies that brought on board about fifty *Celtic* and *Iberian* horſe. Next day the *Thebans* and their Confederates entred the Country in an Hoſtile manner, covering the Plain as far as the Sea and the Hills near the City, and deſtroyed all before them. The *Athenian* and *Corinthian* Cavalry, when they diſcovered the ſtrength, and numbers of the Enemy, did not come very near them: Yet *Dionyſius*'s Horſe though a few in number advanced in ſmall Parties, and threw their Lances, but the Enemy falling upon them, they retreated, and then advancing again, darted their Lances as before: But when any Charged them as they were lighting off their Horſes, and reſted themſelves, they nimbly mounted again and retreated: And when they were purſued any diſtance from the main Body, they attacked their Purſuers, and did great execution upon them with their Lances, compelling the whole Army both to Advance and Retreat, according to their Motions. The *Thebans* returned home not many days after, and ſo did the whole Army. *Dionyſius*'s Troops made an attempt upon *Sicyon*, and beat the *Sicyonians* in a fair Field, killing about ſeventy, and took the Fort *Deras* by Storm.

Storm. Theſe were the firſt Auxiliaries ſent by *Dionyſius*; who after they had performed theſe Exploits, ſailed home to *Syracuſe*.

The *Thebans* and thoſe that had Revolted from the *Lacedemonians*, did every thing till this time by general conſent, and the *Thebans* wholly managed the War: But there aroſe one *Lycomedes* a *Mantinean*, in Birth inferiour to none, Wealthy and Ambitious; who puff'd up the *Arcadians* with high Conceits, telling them, *That* Peloponneſus *was only their Country, and they its firſt Inhabitants: That they were the moſt numerous Nation of the* Greeks, *and men of very able bodies*; *alledging this as a Proof of their Proweſs, that when there was occaſion for Auxiliaries, none were preferred before them. Moreover that the* Lacedemonians *never attacked* Athens *without the* Arcadians; *nor had the* Thebans *come now againſt* Lacedemon, *had they not been ſupported by them. Wherefore if you are wiſe*, ſays he, *no longer follow others Command, for before when you ſerved the* Lacedemonians, *you advanced them, and if you ſtill inconſiderately engage with the* Thebans, *and don't ſeek to command in your turns, you will perhaps find them* Lacedemonians *too.*

The

The *Arcadians* hearing this, became elated, and treated *Lycomedes* with extraordinary Reſpect, eſteeming him the only man amongſt them: Inſomuch that they choſe ſuch to be Officers as he nominated, whereby the *Arcadians* became very great: For when the *Argives* entred *Epidaurus*, & their Retreat was cut off by *Chabrias*'s Mercenaries, the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*; the *Arcadians* opened them a Paſſage, and brought them off, though they ſuffered as well by the difficulty of the Paſſes as the oppoſition of the Enemy. They alſo attempted *Aſina* in *Laconia*, and maſtering the Gariſon, deſtroyed the Suburbs thereof, and killed *Peranor* a *Spartan* Colonel: When ever they had a deſign to march, neither Night nor Storm, nor length of way, nor unpaſſable Mountains hindred them; ſo that they eſteemed themſelves at this time the hardieſt Souldiers in the World. Mirov.

For theſe Reaſons the *Thebans* began to envy, and to be colder in their kindneſs towards them: But the *Eleans* demanding back of the *Arcadians* thoſe Towns that the *Lacedemonians* took from them, obſerved that they not only ſlighted what they ſaid, but magnified the *Triphylians*, and the others that revolted

from them, becauſe they pretended themſelves to be *Arcadians*: and hereupon the *Eleans* alſo began to be ill affected to them. Thus the Allies entertaining an high opinion of themſelves, *Philiſcus* the *Abydenian* came with a great Sum of Money from *Ariobarzanes*, and ſummoned the *Thebans* their Allies, and the *Lacedemonians* to *Delphos* about a Peace. When they came there, they did not communicate their Buſineſs to *Apollo*, but debated it amongſt themſelves. At laſt, when the *Thebans* would not yield, that *Meſſene* ſhould remain in the hands of the *Lacedemonians*, *Philiſcus* raiſed a great Body of Mercenaries to aſſiſt them.

Polyzelus Archon.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, there arrived a ſecond Supply from *Dionyſius*: The *Athenians* declaring it expedient that they ſhould fall into *Theſſaly* againſt the *Thebans*, the *Lacedemonians* would have had them landed in *Laconia*, and this latter Opinion was approved by the Council of War: Afterwards *Dionyſius*'s Auxiliaries ſailed round to *Lacedemon*, and *Archidamus* taking the Field with them and his *Spartans*, ſtorm'd *Caryæ*, and put the Gariſon to the Sword. From thence he went directly to *Parrhaſia* a Town in *Arcadia*, and deſtroyed the Country

Country about it. But when the *Arcadians* and *Argives* came with Succors, he Retreated and Encamped upon the Hills, that overlookt *Midea*: Whilſt he was there, *Ciſſidas* the General of *Dionyſius*'s Forces declared, that the time limited for his ſtay was expired, and ſo departed home by the way of *Sparta*: But the *Meſſenians* cutting off his Retreat at a narrow Paſs, he ſent to *Archidamus*, and demanded Relief, who accordingly ſuccoured him. When they came to the turning that goes to *Euctreſii*, the *Arcadians* and *Argives* entred *Laconia*, deſigning to cut off his Retreat homeward; but *Archidamus* drawing up in a Level at the meeting of the Roads that lead to *Euctreſii* and *Midea*, came as they ſay, to the head of his Troops, and thus encouraged them.

Archidamus's Speech to his Soldiers.

Dear Country-men! Let us be brave, and look forward, that we may deliver our Country to Poſterity in ſuch a condition as we receiv'd it from our Anceſtors: Nor let us any longer be a Reproach to the preſent Age, ſince in former times we have been the moſt Renown'd of all the Greeks.

'Tis reported, that when he had ended his *Speech*, it thundred, and an auſpicious Lightning ſhone about him in a clear Sky.

There hapned alſo to be on the right Wing a Grove, and an Image of *Hercules*, from whom he was ſaid to be deſcended. Hereby there was raiſed ſuch Courage and Alacrity in the Army, that the Commanders found ſome difficulty to reſtrain the Souldiers from puſhing forward. *Archidamus* immediately leading them on, a ſmall Party of the Enemy received them at puſh of Pike, ſome whereof were ſlain, the reſt fled, many of them being kill'd by the Horſe, and ſeveral by the *Celtes*.

When the Fight was over, he erected a Trophy, and diſpatch'd *Demoteles* the Herald home with the News of a great Victory, how that not one of the *Lacemonians* fell, but that the Enemy loſt a great many: When News hereof came to *Sparta*, they ſay, that *Ageſilaus* firſt wept, and then the *Senate* and *Ephori*. *So common are Tears both to Joy and Grief*. The *Thebans* and *Eleans* growing weary of the *Arcadians* Arrogance were not leſs pleas'd at this their ill Succeſs, than the *Lacedemonians*.

The *Thebans* continually ſtudying how they might become Lords of *Greece*, thought if they ſent to the King of *Perſia*, they might by his aſſiſtance compaſs their Deſign.

Deſign. Whereupon under pretence that *Euthycles* the *Lacedemonian* was with the King, they exhorted the Confederates to ſend an Embaſſie, and accordingly *Pelopidas* went from the *Thebans*, *Antiochus* the Champion from the *Arcadians*, *Archidamus* from the *Eleans*, and in company of theſe ——— the *Argive*. On the other hand, the *Athenians* perceiving their Deſign, ſent *Timagoras* and *Leo:* After they came to *Perſia*, *Pelopidas* ingratiated himſelf with the King more then all of them; for he had to alledge, that of all the *Greeks*, the *Thebans* only aſſiſted the *Perſians* at the Battel of *Platææ*, and that they made War upon the King at no time after; and that the *Lacedemonians* had employed their Arms againſt them, becauſe they would not joyn with *Ageſilaus* againſt the King, nor ſuffer him to Sacrifice to *Diana* at *Aulis*, where *Agamemnon* Sacrificed before his Voyage to *Aſia Minor*, when he took *Troy:* It alſo contributed much to the Honour of *Pelopidas*, that the *Thebans* had won the Battel at *Leuctra*, and ravaged *Laconia:* He added alſo, that the *Argives* and *Arcadians* were defeated, becauſe the *Thebans* had not aſſiſted them. *Timagoras* the *Athenian* confirmed all that he ſaid, and next to

him had the greateſt reſpect. *Pelopidas* being asked by the King what Articles he demanded; replyed, That *Meſſene* ſhould be reſtored to its Liberty by the *Lacedemonians*; that the *Athenians* ſhould lay up their Fleet, and if they did not comply herewith, that War ſhould be declar'd againſt them; and if any Town refuſed the Service, that the ſame ſhould be firſt attacked.

Theſe Articles being drawn, and read to the Ambaſſadors; *Leo* ſaid in the Kings hearing, Before God, 'tis high time to ſeek another Friend in ſtead of the King: The King being inform'd by the Secretary what the *Athenian* ſaid, brought out the Inſtrument again; adding, that if the *Athenians* knew any thing more equitable, they ſhould come and ſignifie it.

After the Ambaſſadors return'd each to their home, the *Athenians* put *Timagoras* to death, being accuſed by *Leo* for not making uſe of the ſame lodgings with him, and for holding Correſpondence chiefly with *Pelopidas*. Of the other Ambaſſadors, *Archidamus* the *Elean* extolled the King, for preferring the *Eleans* before the *Arcadians*: But *Antiochus*, becauſe the *Arcadians* Credit was low, refuſed the Preſents, and reported to the

* Ten

*Ten thouſand, that the King had ſtore of Bakers, Cooks, Butlers and Porters; but for men to fight againſt *Greece*, tho' he had ſearch'd for ſuch, he could find none: Beſides, ſaid he, the abundance of Money was only for Oſtentation ſake, and that †Noble Plane-tree of Gold could not with its ſhadow ſhelter ſo much as a Graſhopper.

* The States of *Arcadia*.

† An alluſion to the Golden Plane-tree preſented to *Darius* by *Atys*. *Herod. in Pol.*

After the *Thebans* had ſummoned all the Towns to come and hear the Kings Articles, the *Perſian* that brought them ſhewed the Kings Seal, and read the Contents. The *Thebans* commanded thoſe that intended to make an Alliance with the King and them, to ratifie it by Oath. The Deputies of the Cities made anſwer, That they were not ſent to ſwear, but hear, deſiring leave of them, that if any Oath was required, they might firſt conſult their Principals. When *Lycomedes* the *Arcadian* alledged, That they ought not to meet at *Thebes*, but where the Seat of the War was: The *Thebans* were concern'd hereat, & gave out that he went about to break the League, becauſe he would not ſit in the Council; but departed, and drew all the Ambaſſadors of *Arcadia* after him: The reſt refuſing the Oath, the *Thebans* ſent Ambaſſadors

to every City, and exhorted them to ſwear to the Kings Inſtrument, thinking every City would be fearful of incurring both theirs and the Kings diſpleaſure: But they coming firſt to *Corinth*, met with oppoſition there; the *Corinthians* telling them that they had no occaſion to ſwear to a League with the King, and ſeveral other Cities followed their Example. Thus the Project of the *Thebans* and *Pelopidas* about an Univerſal Empire came to nothing.

But again, when *Epaminondas* deſigned to ſubdue the *Achæans*, and thereby render the *Arcadians* and their Allies more pliant; he reſolved to march into *Achaia*; and in order thereunto, perſwaded *Piſias* General of the *Argives*, to go and poſſeſs himſelf of the *Oneum* before-hand. *Piſias* underſtanding that the place was not carefully guarded by *Naucles* the Commander of the *Lacedemonian* Mercenaries, and *Timomachus* the *Athenian*; and having ſeven Days Proviſion, he with two thouſand Heavy-armed men, took an Hill near *Cenchreæ* by Night. In the mean while, the *Thebans* and Allies under the Command of *Epaminondas*, paſſed the *Oneum*, and entred *Achaia*: The principal men joyned him; and he uſed his Authority

thority ſo far, that they were neither baniſhed, nor the Government changed; but he took an Engagement from them to be faithful to the *Thebans*, and to ſerve them in their Wars. Upon this he returned home; yet the *Arcadians* and contrary Faction having accuſed him for having ordered the Government after the *Lacedemonian* Model; the *Thebans* thought fit to ſend Governors to the Cities of *Achaia:* who after their Arrival, with the help of the People diſplaced the Nobility, and conſtituted a Democracy. The Baniſhed men being many, and making a ſtrong Party, went ſpeedily to the reſpective Cities, and poſſeſſed themſelves thereof: and after they returned home, they ſtood Neuters no longer, but readily joyned with the *Lacedemonians.* The *Arcadians* what on the one ſide by the *Lacedemonians*, and what on the other ſide by the *Achæans*, were reduced to great ſtraits.

Till this time *Sicyon* was govern'd by the *Achæan* Laws: Hereupon *Euphron* having the greateſt Intereſt with the *Lacedemonians* of any of his Country-men, and being deſirous to have the ſame with their Enemies, he acquainted the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, that if the chief men at

Sicyon

Sicyon were really poſſeſt of the Government, the City would ſoon ſide with the *Lacedemonians* again; but if a Democracy be ſet up, you know for certain, ſaid he, that it will remain at your Devotion. If therefore you will ſtand by me, I will aſſemble the People, and will engage to keep the City firm to your Alliance. This I did before, ſaid he, being offended at the Arrogance of the *Lacedemonians* as well as you; and deſirous to free my ſelf from ſlavery. This taking with the *Arcadians* and *Argives*, they went to him, and he preſently aſſembled the People before them in the Market-place, *Declaring*, That the Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon equal Terms. After the people came together, he bid them chooſe whom they pleaſed for Generals: They choſe *Euphron*, *Hippodamus*, *Cleander*, *Acriſius*, and *Lyſander*. Upon this he gave the Command of the Mercenaries to his Son *Adeas*, and diſplaced *Liſimenes* who had it before.

Soon after, *Euphron* by his Favours obliged ſeveral of the Mercenaries to be faithful to him, and hired more, ſparing neither the Publick Treaſure, nor the Conſecrated Money: He baniſhed thoſe who inclin'd to the *Lacedemonians*, and ſeized

ſeized their Eſtates, murdering ſome of his Colleagues privately, and baniſhing others; whereby he got all into his power, and became a profeſt Tyrant: And that the Confederates might connive at him, he either brib'd them with money, or readily aſſiſted them with the Mercenary Troops, when ever they made War; and thus all things went according to his mind. The *Argives* fortified *Tricranum* beyond the Temple of *Juno*, in the Territory of *Phlius*, and the *Sicyonians Thyamia* in their Frontiers: whereby the *Phliaſians* were diſtreſſed, and wanted Neceſſaries, yet they ſtill perſiſted in their League with the *Lacedemonians*.

Now whereas all Writers take notice of what great Cities do, I think the many and glorious Actions of this ſmall one are as worthy obſervation.

When the *Lacedemonians* were at the greateſt height, the *Phliaſians* were their Allies, and though they were overthrown in the Battel of *Leuctra*, ſeveral of their Country-men revolting, the Slaves falling off, moſt of the Confederates deſerting, and in a manner all *Greece* making War upon them, yet the *Phliaſians* continued faithful: And though they were engaged

engaged in a War with the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, the moſt Potent of the *Peloponeſians*, nevertheleſs they aſſiſted them; and though it fell to their lot to come the laſt of all the * Confederates to *Praſiæ*, yet they never forſook the *Lacedemonians*: Nay, when the General of the *Mercenaries* left them, and departed with thoſe who marched on before, they would not turn back again; but (the Enemy being at *Amyclæ*) procured a Commander at *Praſiæ*, and got as well as they could to *Sparta*; for which the *Lacedemonians* amongſt other honours they did them, made them a Preſent of an Ox for a welcom.

* *Corinthians, Epidaurians, Træzenians, Hermionians, Halienians, Sicyonians, and Pellenians.*

After the Enemy retired out of *Laconia*, the *Argives* being offended at the *Phliaſians* for their good Service to the *Lacedemonians*, fell into the Territory of *Phlius* with all their Forces, and ravaged the Country: yet for all that the *Phliaſians* would not deſiſt. But when the *Argives* deſtroyed all before them, the *Phliaſian* horſe being but 60, came upon them and following them cloſe, attacked and defeated their Horſe, with the Companies that were placed in the Rear to ſecure their Retreat: And though they killed but a few, yet they erected a Tro-

phy

phy in view of the *Argives*, and more they could not have done, had they ſlain them all. Again, when the *Lacedemonians* and their Confederates kept *Oneum*, the *Thebans* came with intent to paſs it; and as the *Eleans* and *Arcadians* were marching through *Nemea* to joyn them, the *Phliaſian* Exiles came and brought News, that if they would but appear before *Phlius*, they might take it: When this was agreed on, the Exiles, and about ſix hundred others came by Night, and lay with their Ladders under the Wall, then the Watchmen diſcovering the Approach of the Enemy from the *Tricranum*, the Townſmen took the Alarm: In the mean while, thoſe who were to betray the place, made a ſign to them that lay under the Wall, to mount their Ladders, which they did, and ſeized the Arms that the Guards had left, and fell upon the Warders, who were ten in number, for one out of every 5 was appointed to ward; one whereof they killed as he lay aſleep, and another as he fled to the Temple of *Juno*. The reſt ſeeing this, leaped confuſedly off the Walls into the City, and the Aſſailants made themſelves Maſters of the *Citadel* without any oppoſition. Upon the noiſe that was made

made, the Citizens came with Relief, and then the Enemy at firſt went out of the *Citadel*, and fought before the Gates that lead to the City; but afterwards being encompaſſed by the Citizens, they retired back again to the *Citadel*, and the Heavy-arm'd men falling upon them, immediately cleared the middle of the place. The Enemy remounting the Walls, darted their Javelins, and galled thoſe below, but they on the ground defended themſelves, and fought at the foot of the Ladders. Afterwards the Townſmen recovering ſeveral of the *Turrets*, had a very hot Engagement with the Enemy, who being preſſed hard with the Courage and Valour of the Citizens, were penn'd up in a little room.

In the mean while, the *Arcadians* and *Argives* inveſted the City, and threw down the higheſt part of the *Citadel* Wall. Some of the Townſmen who were in the *Tower* darted at the Enemy upon the Wall, others at thoſe who were ſcaling without, and the reſt at thoſe who were poſſeſt of the *Turrets*; and getting Fire out of the Huts carried Wiſps of Hay that was cut in the *Citadel*, and ſet fire to the Enemy in the *Turrets*: Whereupon ſome of them leapt down for fear, and

and thoſe on the Walls were wounded and thrown down by the Townſmen. After the Enemy began to give ground, they immediately quitted the *Cittadel*, and forthwith the horſe marcht out after them; when the Enemy diſcovered them, they retired, and left their Ladders, and their Dead behind them, together with ſome that were maimed, but yet alive. There were ſlain of the Enemy which fought within the *Citadel*, and were intercepted without the Walls, no leſs than eighty. There you might ſee the men Congratulating one another, the Women bringing them drink,& all ſhedding tears together for their great Deliverance; at laſt every one preſent wept for joy.

The Year after the *Argives* and *Arcadians* attacked *Phlius* with their whole Forces. The reaſon why they lay ſo hard upon the *Phliaſians*, was partly becauſe they were provoked by them, and partly becauſe they lay betwixt them both, and thereby were continually in hopes of reducing them by want of Proviſions. The Horſe, and the choſen men of the *Phliaſians* ſupported by the *Athenians*, firſt attacked the Cavalry at the paſs of a River, and defeated them, compelling them to retire the reſt of the day into the Mountains; Κλαυσίγελως. *Cephiſodorus. Archon.*

tains; as it were, taking care that they might not trample down their Friends Corn in the Valleys. Again the Governour of *Sicyon* made another Attempt upon *Phlius*, drawing out the *Thebans* he had in Gariſon, together with the *Sicyonians* and *Pellenians*, for they then aſſiſted the *Thebans*, whom *Euphron* joyned with two thouſand of his *Mercenaries*: The reſt marched down by the *Tricranum* to *Juno*'s Temple, making as if they would deſtroy all the Country before them. The *Sicyonians* and *Pellenians* were poſted by the *Corinthian* Gate on the top of an Hill, that the *Phliaſians* might not ſurround them, and gain an Eminence which lay beyond *Juno*'s Temple. When the *Phliaſians* perceived that the Enemy would fall into the Plain, the Horſe and choſen men made oppoſition and hindred them from entring it; ſo that moſt part of the Day was ſpent in Skirmiſhing, *Euphron*'s men purſuing the Enemy as far as the Horſe could paſs, and the Townſmen as far as *Juno*'s Temple. When the Enemy thought it was time to march off, they went round to the *Tricranum*, becauſe the Valley before the Wall hindred them from paſſing the direct way to the *Pellenians*, but the

Phliaſians

Phliaſians purſuing them a little way as far as to the riſing Ground, they faced about, and marched on by the Wall towards the *Pellenians*, and their Aſſociates. The *Theban* Governour being inform'd of the *Phliaſians* diligence, did his utmoſt endeavour to give the *Pellenians* timely aſſiſtance, but the *Phliaſian* Horſe prevented him, and fell upon the *Pellenians*, who at firſt received them, and made them retreat; but the latter joyning the Foot that were come up, charged them again, and cloſed. Soon after the Enemy gave ground, and ſome of the *Sicyonians* fell together with a great many brave men of the *Pellenians*. For this Action the *Phliaſians* erected a noble Trophy, and according to the cuſtom ſang an Hymn.

In the mean while the *Theban* General and *Euphron* beheld this Skirmiſh from ſeveral places, as if they had intended to have ſeen a fight. Afterwards the Enemy returned home to *Sicyon*, and the Townſmen to the City. The *Phliaſians* behaved themſelves incomparably well in this Action, and tho they were reduced to great want, yet they diſcharged a *Pellenian*, who had been their publick Hoſt, without ranſom. *Who would not allow*

men, who perform'd such Exploits as these, to be both brave and couragious: for 'tis known to the whole world, that they adhered to their Friends with invincible resolution.

When they were deprived of their Corn, they lived partly upon Forage, and partly by what they bought at *Corinth*, going to Market through many dangers, getting Money with great difficulty, hardly procuring any to furnish them, and scarcely hiring *it upon* the security of their labouring Beasts. At last being in extreme want, they prevailed with *Chares* to send them a Convoy to *Phlius*, and after he arrived, they desired him to conduct the useless people to *Pellene*, which he did, and left them there. Then they bought provisions, and loading as many Beasts as they could get, departed by night, and tho they knew that the Enemy waylaid them, yet thinking it would be more grievous to starve, than fight, they proceeded on their way with *Chares*, and meeting the Enemy, encouraged one another, and presently fell to work, calling upon him for assistance. Having obtain'd the Victory, they beat the Enemy out of the Road, and at last arrived safe with their Convoy. The next day they slept late, because

* Ἐπὶ τὸν Χάρητα.

becauſe they had watched that night. At laſt, when *Chares* roſe, the Horſe and principal Men of the City came to him, and ſaid, Chares, *You may do an excellent piece of Service to day; for the* Sicyonians *are fortifying a place in the Frontiers, having with them a great many Maſons, but not many Soldiers. Wherefore our Horſe, with the body of choſen Men will go before; and if you will follow with your Mercenaries, it may be you will find the work done to your hand, or if you do but appear, perhaps the Enemy will run as they did at* Pellene. *But if any thing ſeem difficult, do you conſult the Gods by Sacrifice; for we are of opinion, that they had rather you ſhould undertake this Enterpriſe than we. Aſſure your ſelf,* Chares, *that if you effect it, you will not only defeat the Enemy, but preſerve a City that is in amity with you. Beſides you ſhall be the moſt honourable perſon in your Country, and moſt Renown'd of all, whether Allies or Enemies.*

Chares embracing their propoſal, ſacrificed and immediately the *Phliaſian* Horſe put on their Breaſt-plates, and bridled their Horſes, the heavy-arm'd Men providing all things neceſſary for the Foot. When they had arm'd themſelves,

and were gone to the place where he ſacrificed, he, and the Prieſt met them, and told them, that the Sacrifice was auſpicious, *Only ſtay a while*, ſaid they, *till we march out with you.* Orders were immediately given, and the Mercenaries went with full ſpeed, as it were by a divine impulſe; and when *Chares* began to march, the *Phliaſian* Horſe and Foot went on before; at the firſt marching nimbly, then * jogging on faſter; at laſt the Horſe and Foot advancing, gave a furious charge in the beſt order they were able, and were ſeconded by *Chares* with diligence. This was a little before Sun-ſet, when they ſurpriſed ſome of the Enemy upon the Wall, others waſhing, ſome getting ready their proviſions, others kneading their Dough, and ſome making their Beds. When they ſaw the violence of the Attack, they were ſoon terrified and fled, abandoning all their proviſions to thoſe valiant men, who ſupped on them, and carried the Remainder home. Then ſacrificing for their good Fortune, and ſinging an Hymn, they ſet their Watches and repoſed themſelves. The *Corinthians* receiving the News about *Thyamia*, by night ſummoned all their Carriages, and loading them with Proviſions, ſent them

* ἐπὶ τὸ χαλεπώτερον.

them very courteouſly to *Phlius*, whither they went every day after till the Wall was finiſhed. This is the relation of the *Phliaſians*, how they perſiſted in their fidelity to their Friends, and behaved themſelves with Bravery in the War, and remained firm to their alliance, altho reduced to extreme want.

Much about this time, *Æneas* the *Stymphalian*, General of the *Arcadians*, thinking the Tranſactions at *Sicyon* were not to be endured, went up into the Cittadel with his Army, and aſſembled the principal Men of the *Sicyonians*, recalling thoſe who were baniſhed without a publick Decree. *Euphron* fearing this, fled to the Port of *Sicyon*, and ſent for *Paſimelus* from *Corinth*, by which means he delivered up the Port to the *Lacedemonians*, and again embraced their Alliance, profeſſing he had ever been faithful to them: for when it was put to a vote whether they ſhould break with the *Lacedemonians* or no, he with a few more declar'd againſt it. Afterwards deſigning to call them, that betrayed him, to an account, he conſtituted a Democracy: *And now*, ſays he, *I have baniſhed all thoſe that have betraid you; and if it had lain in my power, I had brought over the*

City to you, but the Port which I was poſſeſs'd of, I have delivered up. Many heard him what he ſaid, tho how many believ'd him is not certain. But ſince I have begun with *Euphron*'s Deſigns, I will go through with them.

The principal Men and People of *Sicyon* being divided, *Euphron* return'd into his own Country, bringing with him ſome Mercenaries from *Athens*, by whoſe aſſiſtance he poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Town, but the *Theban* Governor had the Cittadel. *Euphron* knowing it was impoſſible to maintain the City, whilſt the *Theban* held the Cittadel, raiſed money, and going to *Thebes*, perſwaded the *Thebans* to baniſh the principal Men, and deliver up the Town again. But thoſe who had been baniſhed by him, knowing his intent, and ſcenting his journey and deſign, went to *Thebes* to prevent him, where, fearing he might effect what he came for, becauſe they ſaw him familiar with the Magiſtrates, they ventured the danger, and cut his Throat in the Cittadel, at the time the Magiſtrates and Senate were ſitting. The Magiſtrates brought the Men that committed the Fact before the Senate, and ſpoke thus,

We, Fellow-Citizens, indict theſe Men who

who have kill'd Euphron *for Murder. We find that ſober Men never commit any unjuſt or villainous Act, and when Rogues do, they endeavour to hide it. But theſe have ſo far tranſcended all Men in boldneſs and villany, that without authority they have murdered a man in the face of you the Magiſtrates, who have the power of Life and Death; if theſe therefore ſuffer not the utmoſt ſeverity of the Law, who will dare to come hereafter to this City? And what will become of this place, if every man may kill thoſe that come hither, before they declare what buſineſs they come about. We proſecute theſe as the moſt impious and lawleſs Fellows, who have in an high nature acted in contempt of the Government. Now ye have heard the Caſe, inflict on them what puniſhment you think they deſerve.*

The Murderers of *Euphron* indicted.

Thus ſaid the Magiſtrates, the Ruffians denied all that they were concerned in the Murder, except one, who confeſs'd it, and began to make his Defence in this manner.

My Lords of Thebes, *That man dares not offer any contempt to you, who knows that ye have power to uſe him as ye pleaſe. I'll now declare upon what Grounds I kill'd this man. Ye may aſſure your ſelves, the*

The Ruffians Defence.

first reason was, because I thought it lawful; another is that I might bring you to a right understanding of the case. I found when Archias *and* Hypates *perpetrated the same villanies that* Euphron *did, ye never staid for the formality of a Trial, but did justice on them the first opportunity: for you grant, that they who are sacrilegious persons, notorious Traitors and Usurpers have already received the sentence of death from all mankind. And certainly* Euphron *was guilty of all these Crimes; for he left the Temples naked, which he found adorn'd with Offerings of Gold and Silver. Who was a more profess'd Traitor than* Euphron? *For being a great Friend to the* Lacedemonians, *he preferr'd your interest before theirs; and then having engaged himself to you, forsook your interest again, and delivered up the Port to your Enemies. And was not he a notorious Tyrant, in that he both freed the Slaves, and naturalized them, killing, banishing and confiscating the Estates, not only of the innocent, but whomsoever he listed, and amongst these Men of the chiefest Quality. Beside being recalled from exile, by the favour of the* Athenians *your inveterate Enemies, he took Arms against your Governor, and since he was not able to drive*

drive him out of the Cittadel, he has ſcrap'd up money, and is come hither. If he had appear'd openly in Arms againſt you, ye would have return'd me thanks for killing him; now when he has brought mony to corrupt you, and ſo to procure himſelf to be made ſupreme of his Country, how can I in Juſtice be put to death, for inflicting on him his deſerved puniſhment? They that are oppreſſed by violence ſuffer indeed, yet cannot be thought unjuſt; but thoſe who are baſely corrupted with Bribes, both ſuffer and fall into diſgrace too. If therefore he were my Enemy, and your Friend, I confeſs I have then done ill in killing him amongſt you: But how came he that betray'd you to be more my Enemy than yours? Perhaps ſome will ſay he came hither of his own accord; therefore if any had killed him without your City he had been commended. But now he is come to add more miſchief to his former, you can't deny but that he was juſtly put to death. How can he, that maintains, He was unjuſtly killed, *make it appear, that Traitors, Renegades, or Tyrants are comprehended in the publick Leagues amongſt the Greeks. Moreover, I deſire you would call to mind a Decree made by you, wherein you give leave to ſeize Exiles,*

Exiles, and take them out of the confederate Cities: Now can any one ſay, that that Exile is unjuſtly killed, who returns home without the general Decree of the Allies? My Lords, I affirm, that if you put me to death, you revenge the blood of him who was your moſt inveterate Enemy. But if you find I have done according to Law, you will not only do juſtice to your ſelves, but all your Allies.

The *Thebans* hearing this, decreed, that *Euphron* had ſuffered condign puniſhment. But his Fellow-Citizens having an high opinion of him, carried him to *Sicyon*, and buried him in the Market-place, adoring him as their Founder. *For all people would have their Benefactors eſteemed good men.* Hitherto I have ſpoken of *Euphron*, and now return from my Digreſſion.

Whilſt the *Phliaſians* were fortifying *Thyamia*, and *Chares* was there, the Exiles ſurpriſed *Oropus*, to which place when the *Athenians* had drawn their whole Forces, and ſent for *Chares*, they being aſſiſted by the *Arcadians*, retook the Port of *Sicyon*. None of the Confederates aided the *Athenians*, but marched away, and depoſited *Oropus* in the hands of the *Thebans*, till the Controverſie was decided.

decided. But when *Lycomedes* underſtood the *Athenians* complained of the Confederates, that theſe created them a great deal of trouble, and yet no body aſſiſted them; he perſwaded the ten thouſand to treat with the *Athenians* about an Alliance. At firſt the *Athenians*, being in League with the *Lacedemonians*, ſome of them thought it hard to confederate with their Enemies, yet concluding it would be as advantageous *to the* Lacedemonians *as themſelves*, for the *Arcadians* to be deprived of the *Thebans* aſſiſtance, they at laſt accepted the League. *Lycomedes* having diſpatch'd this Affair, parted from *Athens*, and died after a ſtrange manner: for there being ſeveral Ships, he choſe one which he liked beſt, and agreeing to be ſet on ſhore where he pleaſed, he fell by chance into the hands of the Exiles, and ſo was killed.

The League was thus concluded, but *Demotion* making a Speech to the people of *Athens*, declared, That in his opinion it was judiciouſly made, yet that they ought to order the Generals to ſecure *Corinth*. The *Corinthians* hearing this, immediately ſent ſufficient Guards of their own to every place where the *Athenians*

Athenians were in Garriſon, and commanded them to depart, becauſe they had no occaſion for them. Accordingly they complied. Afterwards when the *Athenians* flocked out of the Forts into the City, the *Corinthians* made Proclamation, That if any of them had received any injury, the Law was open, and they ſhould have Juſtice done them. Whilſt Affairs ſtood thus, *Chares* arrived with his Fleet at *Cenchreæ*, and underſtanding what had paſſed, told them, that hearing of a Deſign againſt the City, he was come to aſſiſt them, they gave him their thanks, yet did not receive his Fleet into their Harbour, but ordered him to depart. In like manner, having paid off the heavy-arm'd Men, they diſmiſs'd them. Thus *Corinth* was clear'd of the *Athenians*, who were obliged by the Treaty to aſſiſt the *Arcadians* with a Body of Horſe, in caſe their Country was invaded: but not to enter *Laconia* therewith.

The *Corinthians* conſidering it would be difficult to ſecure themſelves, being they were already preſſed at Land, and had the *Athenians* for a new Enemy, who alone were too great a Match, reſolved to raiſe Mercenary Horſe and Foot, and command

mand them themſelves, whereby they might not only ſecure their own City, but act offenſively againſt their Enemies. Beſides they ſent to *Thebes* to know whether they might have a peace; the *Thebans* gave them encouragement, yet they choſe firſt to conſult their Allies about it, being willing to make peace with thoſe that deſired it, and to let thoſe who preferred War, to have a War. The *Thebans* giving their conſent, the *Corinthians* went to *Lacedemon*, and there delivered themſelves after this manner:

The *Corinthians* Speech to the *Lacedemonians.*

My Lords of Lacedemon, *We your Allies are come hither, requiring you, that if you have any proſpect of ſucceſs by continuing the War, to inform us thereof: but if your Affairs be reduced to extremity, it will be for your Intereſt as well as ours to make a Peace. There is no Nation in the World that we had rather be ſecure with, than with yours. But if you think War can be advantageous to you, we deſire you to give us the liberty of making peace for our ſelves. If we be preſerv'd we may at a ſeaſonable time aſſiſt you; but if we be now ruined, we can never be ſerviceable to you hereafter.*

The *Lacedemonians* hearing this, adviſed the *Corinthians* to make peace, and permitted

permitted the other Allies that were not diſpoſed to carry on the War, to ſit ſtill, declaring, as for themſelves, they would hold out, and ſubmit to Providence. But to part with *Meſſene*, which they had received from their Anceſtors, they would yield to never. Thereupon the *Corinthians* went to *Thebes* for Peace. The *Thebans* required them to make a League offenſive and defenſive: to which the *Corinthians* made anſwer, That ſuch a League was not a Peace, but an Exchange of the War; however, if they thought good, they were willing to make one upon equal Terms. The *Thebans* admiring them, becauſe they would not be ungrateful to their Benefactors, tho they were expoſed to danger, granted them, the *Phliaſians*, and the reſt that came with them a Peace upon condition, that every one ſhould poſſeſs their own, and on theſe terms it was ratified. The *Phliaſians* immediately upon concluſion of the Treaty quitted *Thyamia*; but the *Argives*, tho they had ſworn to the Peace, being not able to procure the ſame Freedom for the *Phliaſian* Exiles in *Tricranum*, as in their own City, poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Thyamia*, and placed a Garriſon there, alledging the Territory belong'd to them, tho

tho a little before they had deſtroyed it in an hoſtile manner, and when the *Phliaſians* demanded Juſtice, they denyed it them.

Much about this time, *Dionyſius* the elder died, and his Son ſent twelve Gallies, commanded by *Timocrates*, to aid the *Lacedemonians*; who, after he arrived, aſſiſted them in the taking of *Sellaſia*, and then returned home again. Not long after, the *Eleans* took *Laſio*, which formerly belonged to them, but at that time it was under the juriſdiction of the *Arcadians*. The *Arcadians* neglected it not, but immediately aſſembled their Forces together, and took the Field, againſt whom the *Eleans* came out firſt with four hundred Men, and then with three hundred more encamping all the day in a Plain. In the night the *Arcadians* march'd up to the top of an Hill that over-looked the *Eleans*, and came down upon them by break of day. The *Eleans* ſeeing, that they were ſtronger, and march'd from the higher Ground, were yet aſhamed for ſome time to decamp; but the *Arcadians* attacking them at laſt, they ſcarce came to' handy-blows before they fled, and loſt a great many Men and Arms in their Retreat, through the ſtrait Paſſes. *Chion Archon.*

After

After this Action, the *Arcadians* attacked the Towns of the *Acrorians*, and having taken all but *Thrauſtus*, paſſed on to *Olympia*; where making a Trench about *Saturn*'s Temple, they put in a Garriſon there, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of Mount *Olympus*. Then they took *Margana* upon ſurrender. The *Eleans* were wholly dejected at this ſucceſs of their Enemies. The *Arcadians* alſo came up to the very City, and advanced as far as the Market-place, where the *Elean* Horſe, and ſome others beſide encountring them beat them them out, and having killed ſome of them erected a Trophy. Sometime before this, there were Diviſions at *Elis*, for the Faction of *Charopus*, *Thraſonidas* and *Argeus* brought in a Democracy, and that of *Stalcas*, *Hippias* and *Stratolas* an Oligarchy. But the *Arcadians* having a great power, and inclining to thoſe who were for a Democracy, *Charopus*'s Party thereby became bolder, agreeing with the *Arcadians* to aſſiſt them, and ſurpriſe the Cittadel. The Horſe and the three hundred Foot obſerving them, march'd up thither, and beat them out, ſo that *Argeus* and *Charopus* with about four hundred more were baniſhed. Not long after being ſupported

ſupported by a Body of *Arcadians*, they took *Pylus*, to which place there had been a Concourſe of People from the City, as being wealthy, and having ſo powerful aſſiſtance from the *Arcadians*; who afterwards entered the *Eleans* Country, being perſwaded by the Exiles, that the City would yield to them. But the *Achæans* being at that time in League with the *Eleans*, protected them, ſo that the *Arcadians* only harraſſed their Country, and retired.

As ſoon as they were march'd out of the Territory of *Elis*, being inform'd, that ſome *Pellenians* were in the City, they took a long March in the Night, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Olurus*, a Town that belonged to the *Pellenians*, becauſe they were in League with the *Lacedemonians*. After the *Pellenians* heard the News of *Olurus*, they fetched a long compaſs, and returned to their own City. Afterwards, tho they were but a ſmall Party, yet they attacked the *Arcadians*, and all the people in *Olurus*; nor did they deſiſt till they had taken it. Again the *Arcadians* attempted *Elis* in another Voyage; and whilſt they encamped between *Cyllene* and the City, the *Eleans* attacked them; but the *Arcadians* re-

ceiving their firſt Charge, repulſed them. Whereupon *Andromachus* the Governor of the *Eleans*, who perſwaded them to fight, kill'd himſelf, the reſt retired into the Town, and *Soclidas* the *Spartan* being in this Fight was ſlain, for the *Lacedemonians* were at this time in League with the *Eleans*. When the *Eleans* were hard preſſed at home, they ſent an Ambaſſador, and deſired the *Lacedemonians* to fall upon the *Arcadians*, thinking the beſt way to divert them would be to attack them on both ſides. Thereupon *Archidamus* marched out with the *Lacedemonians*, and taking *Cromnus*, left there a Garriſon of three Companies out of twelve, and ſo returned home.

The *Arcadians* being aſſembled about the Expedition againſt *Elis*, marched with their Forces, and ſecuring themſelves with a double Trench, beſieged *Cromnus*. The *Lacedemonians* being much concerned, that their People ſhould be beſieged, ſent out another Army under the Leading of *Archidamus*, who went and deſtroyed all *Arcadia* and *Sciris*, endeavouring, if it were poſſible, to raiſe the Siege; yet the *Arcadians* ſtirred not from the place, nor took any notice of them.

Then *Archidamus* viewing an Hill a-

long

long which the *Arcadians* had drawn their outermoſt Trench, thought he could take it, and that if he were poſſeſſed thereof, the place would be too hot for the Beſiegers. When he had fetched a compaſs about it with his Forces, the foremoſt of his light-arm'd Men diſcovered the * *Epariti* without the Works, and ſet upon them, the Horſe endeavouring to break in with them. The *Arcadians* received them in good order, and maintain'd their Ground. Then the reſt attached them, yet they would not give back, but ſet up a loud ſhout, and preſſed forward upon the Enemy. *Archidamus* relieved his Men, and turned towards the Road that leads to *Cromnus*, having drawn them up two deep; but as ſoon as he began to move, his Men were drawn up in File, becauſe they marched in the Road. The *Arcadians* with their cloſe Body made a * Target-defenſe, upon which the *Lacedemonians* were not able to maintain their Charge. *Archidamus* being ſoon wounded through the Thigh, *Polyænidas*, and *Chilo*, that had married *Archidamus*'s Siſter, and thoſe who fought in the Front, were ſlain; and in all there were thirty killed. Whereupon the *Lacedemonians* retired out of the Road, and

* A choſen Band of Men amongſt the *Arcadians*.

* Συναμπίσεις.

marched into the open Field, drawing up in a close body; nevertheless, the *Arcadians* remained in their first order, being inferior in numbers, but superior in courage; for they fell upon those that retreated, and cut several of them in pieces. On the contrary, the *Lacedemonians* seeing *Archidamus* wounded, and hearing the names of the valiant Men that were slain, being some of the bravest they had, were much disheartned. At length they came near one another, and one of the old men cried out, *Sirs, why should we fight? Why don't we make a Truce?!* They willingly hearkened to this, and came to Terms of Agreement. So the *Lacedemonians* took their dead, and marched off, and the *Arcadians* returning to the place where they first began the Battel, erected a Trophy.

Whiles the *Arcadians* invested *Cromnus*, the *Eleans* marching to *Pylus*, met with the *Pylians* that had been repulsed at *Thalamæ*. Thereupon the *Elean* Horse making use of the opportunity as soon as they saw them, advanced forwards, and immediately charged them, killing some, whilst the rest retired to an Hill; but afterwards the Foot coming up, they

they defeated thoſe on the Hill, killing and taking near two hundred. They ſold the Mercenaries for Slaves, and put the Exiles to the ſword. After this, none aſſiſting the *Pylians*, they took *Pylus*, and recovered *Margana*. A while after the *Lacedemonians* coming by night to *Cromnus*, gained the Trench, and immediately fetched off their beſieged through the * *Argives* Quarter. For as many as were near, and nick'd the † time, got out, but thoſe that the *Arcadians* prevented by their ſpeed, being driven back, were taken, and divided amongſt the Victors: one ſhare whereof fell to the *Argives*, another to the *Thebans*, a third to the *Arcadians*, and the laſt to the *Meſſenians*. There were taken in all, of the *Spartans* and their Neighbors, above an hundred. After the *Arcadians* had finiſhed the Siege of *Cromnus*, they turned their Arms upon the *Eleans*, and reinforced the Garriſon at *Olympia*. Moreover the *Olympick* Year coming on, they made preparations to keep the Games with the *Piſans*, who pretended to be Preſidents of *Jupiter*'s Temple.

* *Lege* Καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀργείους *Palmer.*

† Ὠξυλάδησαν.

The Month being come, in which the *Olympick* Games are celebrated, and the day of Solemnity at hand; the *Eleans* *Olymp.* 104. *Timocrates Archon.*

made open preparations, and invited the *Achæans*, marching the way that goes to *Olympia*. The *Arcadians* thinking they would never come up with them, they ordered the Solemnity being assisted by the *Pisans*. The Horse-Races were already over, and the Foot-Races that belonged to the Five Games: The Wrestlers did not play in the Course, but between it and the Altar. When the *Eleans* came to the Temple of *Jupiter*, the *Arcadians* went not far to meet them, but drew up in Battalia near the River *Cladaus*, which runs by *Alte*, and falls into the *Alpheus*. The *Arcadians* were assisted by two thousand *Argive* heavy-arm'd Men, and about four hundred *Athenians*. The *Eleans* drew up by the River, and having sacrified, immediately advanced; and altho neither the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, *Acheans*, nor *Athenians* thought them Soldiers before that time; yet then they led the Van, as being the bravest Men of all the Confederates. They first attacked the *Arcadians*, and immediately routed them: then receiving the *Argives* that seconded them, defeated them too, and pursued them to the place between the Senate-House and *Vesta's* Temple, to which the Theatre joyns,

joyns, fighting ſtill, and driving them towards the Altar: but being ſhot at both from the *Porticoes*, Senate-Houſe, and great Temple, at length they engaged on the plain ground, and there ſeveral with *Stratolas*, a Captain of three hundred, were ſlain, and after this Action they retired into their Camp. The *Arcadians* and their Auxiliaries ſo dreaded the following day, that they plucked down their Tents in the night, and intrenched themſelves. The next day the *Eleans* approaching, and finding the Wall very ſtrong, and that ſeveral were got on the tops of the Temples, returned to *Elis*, *Having approv'd themſelves as brave Men as Heaven with its inſpired valour could in one day make them: for man cannot in a long ſpace of time make Cowards valorous.*

The States of *Arcadia* made uſe of the conſecrated Money, and paid the *Epariti* therewith; but the *Mantineans* firſt of all declared they would not meddle with it, and then raiſing their *Quota* due to the *Epariti* from them, ſent it to the States; but theſe alledging, that the Community of the *Arcadians* was ruined by the *Mantineans*, ſummoned the Magiſtrates to appear before the Ten Thouſand. But

the *Mantineans* refuſing to obey, they paſſed ſentence on them, and ſent the *Epariti* to bring the Criminals before them, yet they would not receive them, but ſhut their Gates againſt them. About this time ſome of the Ten Thouſand themſelves, declared, that they ought not to convert the conſecrated Money to their own uſe, leſt they ſhould thereby entail a Curſe upon their Poſterity. Thereupon the whole Aſſembly reſolv'd not to convert this conſecrated Money to their own uſes. Upon this thoſe *Epariti* which could not ſubſiſt without pay deſerted, and thoſe *Arcadians* that could, exhorted one another to ſucceed in their places, that ſo the *Epariti* might be in their power, and not they in the power of the *Epariti*.

* Διαχεχρηκότες.

The principal men that had * fingered the Sacred Money, conſidering they ſhould be in danger of loſing their Heads, if they were called to an account, ſent to the *Thebans* to let them know, that if they did not ſuccour them, it was to be feared, that the *Arcadians* would ſide with the *Lacedemonians*. Accordingly the *Thebans* made preparations to aſſiſt them. On the contrary, thoſe who were inclined moſt to the Intereſt of *Peloponeſus*

ſus, perſwaded the Community of the *Arcadians* to ſend Ambaſſadors, and acquaint the *Thebans*, that they ſhould not enter *Arcadia* with their Army, till they had farther invitation. Nor did they declare themſelves thus to the *Thebans* only, but concluded themſelves upon very good Reaſons, that they had no obligation to make a War, knowing that they had no Title to be Preſidents of *Jupiter*'s Temple, but that they ſhould do a greater piece of Juſtice, and which would be more pleaſing to the God, by reſtoring the Preſidentſhip to the *Eleans*. The *Eleans* approving of it, both ſides thought fit to conclude a Peace, and accordingly one was concluded. When all, as well the *Tegeans*, as the *Theban* that commanded three hundred *Bœotian* heavy-arm'd Men at *Tegea*, had taken the Oaths, ſome of the *Arcadians* that remained at *Tegea* feaſted, and were merry, offering Sacrifices, and ſinging Hymns, as tho the Peace had been already Ratified. The *Thebans* and chief of the *Arcadians*, as alſo the *Bœotians*, that were afraid leſt they ſhould be call'd to an account about the conſecrated Money, and the *Epariti* that were under the ſame Circumſtances, cauſing the

Gates

Gates of *Tegea* to be ſhut, ſent Officers to thoſe that were making merry, and ſeized the Principal Perſons amongſt them. For every one being deſirous of Peace, there was a great Concourſe of People from all the Cities of *Arcadia*, whereby there muſt needs be a great many taken, inſomuch that the Priſon and Town-Houſe were filled with them. Several were committed to Cuſtody, ſome leap'd down the Walls, and others were let out at the Gates; (for no body was incens'd againſt any one, except thoſe that thought they ſhould be put to death) which put the *Theban* Commander, and his Complices to their Wits-ends, becauſe they had ſeized very few of the *Mantineans*, whom chiefly they deſign'd to take, for their City being near moſt of them eſcaped home. When it was day, and the *Mantineans* heard how Affairs went, they ſent immediately to all the *Arcadian* Towns, ſummoning them to appear in Arms, and to be upon their Guard, as they were. At the ſame time they ſent to *Tegea*, and demanded the *Mantineans* they had *ſeiz'd*; Adding, that no *Arcadian* ought to be impriſoned or put to death without a tryal. And ſome there were who blam'd them for theſe Proceedings,

ceedings, becauſe the *Mantineans* had engag'd to produce any before the Community of the *Arcadians* that ſhould be Impeached. The *Theban* Commander hearing this, could not tell how to govern himſelf, but diſcharged all the Priſoners; and the Day following, calling together as many *Arcadians* as would aſſemble, excuſed himſelf before them, ſaying, he was miſtaken; and told them, that he heard that the *Lacedemonians* were in the Frontiers with their Army, and that ſome of the *Arcadians* were ready to betray *Tegea* to them: which when they heard, they let him go, though they knew that he impoſed upon them.

The *Arcadians* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Thebes* to Impeach this Commander of Treaſon; and then they report, that *Epaminondas* who was at that time their General, ſhould ſay; That he did much better in ſeizing the *Arcadians*, than in diſcharging them: For, ſaid he, Why may not he accuſe you of Treaſon, when we for your ſakes made War, and you without our Conſent have concluded a Peace? Aſſure your ſelves, ſaid he, we will employ our Arms againſt *Arcadia*, and make a joynt War with our Confederates. When this was reported to the Com-

Community of the *Arcadians*, and the Account hereof ſpread through every City, the reſt of the *Arcadians*, and * thoſe that were concern'd for *Peloponeſus* gathered from hence, that the *Thebans* did endeavour to weaken the *Peloponeſians* what they could, that ſo they might enſlave them with the more eaſe: For, ſaid they, Why would they have us both involv'd in a War, unleſs it was to weaken one another, that ſo both of us may ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance? Why do they make Preparations for a Campagn, tho' we have told them that we have no occaſion at this time for them? Is it not manifeſt that they deſign us miſchief? Thereupon they ſent to *Athens* for aſſiſtance, and diſpatch'd the *Epariti* on an Embaſſie to the *Lacedemonians*, requiring them to joyn Forces, and preſerve *Peloponneſus* from ſlavery. Then they determined the matter about the Command in Chief, how that each Republick ſhould command in their own Territories.

* *Mantineans, Eleans, Achæans.*

Chæriclidis Archon.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, *Epaminondas* took the Field with all the *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and ſeveral *Theſſalians* he had from *Alexander*, and from his Enemies: The *Phoceans* did not joyn them, alledging they had agreed to aſſiſt

ſiſt the *Thebans* if any invaded them; but it was not in the Articles to make a War Offenſive. *Epaminondas* conſidered that they had the *Argives*, *Meſſenians*, and the *Arcadians* in *Peloponneſus*, which ſided with them: the *Tegeans* alſo, *Megalapolitans*, *Aſeans*, *Palanteans*, and ſome other ſmall Towns that lay amongſt theſe which were compelled to follow them: He marched out with great diligence, and arriving at *Nemea*, made an halt there, hoping to intercept the *Athenians* that were paſſing that way; thinking this would be of great moment to confirm the Confederates, and to put the Enemy into a Conſternation; and in ſhort, every thing would be advantageous to him that incommoded the *Athenians*. Whilſt he remained there, all the *Peloponneſians* that had confederated together, aſſembled at *Mantinea*: But as ſoon as *Epaminondas* underſtood that the *Athenians* had changed their reſolution of marching by Land, and made Preparations by Sea, to paſs with their Army through *Lacedemon* to the relief of the *Arcadians*, he decamped from *Nemea*, and arrived at *Tegea*.

I cannot ſay that this Expedition of his was much ſucceſsful, though I find nothing

nothing of Conduct or Courage wanting in him: Firſt I cannot but commend him for encamping within the Walls of *Tegea*, as having there a ſecurer Poſt; than if he had been without, and being more private from the Enemies underſtanding his Deſigns: Beſides, if he had occaſion for any neceſſaries, they might be eaſier procured in the City: and the Enemy encamping without the Town might be diſcovered if they did any thing well, or committed any miſtake: And becauſe he thought himſelf ſtronger than the Enemy, as often as he ſaw them attempt the taking any advantageous Poſts, he went not out to attack them. But wen he found never a Town would ſurrender to him, and that the Seaſon advanced, he thought he muſt perform ſome remarkable Exploit, or elſe expect ſome great Diſgrace inſtead of his former Glory.

Therefore being Advertiſed that the Enemy was ſtrongly encamped near *Mantinea*, and had ſent for *Ageſilaus* and all the *Lacedemonians*, being informed alſo that *Ageſilaus* was already marcht as far as *Pellene*; he Supped, and giving Orders to the Army, moved directly towards *Sparta*: And if a certain *Cretan* by

by a ſpecial Providence had not informed *Ageſilaus* that the Army was upon their march, *Epaminondas* had ſurprized the City like a Neſt of young Ones, wholly defenceleſs: But *Ageſilaus* having firſt Intelligence of it, reached the City before the Enemy, and poſted his *Spartans*, who though but an handfull, defended the Place. For all their Horſe, their Mercenary Troops, and three Companies out of Ten were march'd on before into *Arcadia*. After *Epaminondas* was come to *Sparta*, he did not enter the Town where the Enemy might have engaged him in the Plain, or where they might have thrown their Darts from off the Houſes, or where a ſmall number could have done as much ſervice as a greater; but took a Place of which he thought he could make advantage, and ſo went down, not up into the City. *But what hapned there afterwards may be partly aſcribed to Providence; or elſe it may be ſaid, that no Power can reſiſt the Deſperate.* For though *Archidamus* had not an hundred men, he not only paſſed over the River, where in probability he might have been hindred, but marched up a riſing Ground to the Enemy; and there thoſe Souldiers that breathed Fire,

that

that had beaten the *Lacedemonians* that were in every reſpect ſtronger than they, and on higher Ground, could not ſuſtain the Charge of *Archidamus*'s Men, but gave ground, and the foremoſt of *Epaminondas*'s Men were ſlain. The *Lacedemonians* being tranſported with the Victory, and purſuing the Enemy too far, came off with ſome loſs: *For as it ſeems, Providence had circumſcribed the bounds of the Victory how far it ſhould extend.* *Archidamus* erected a Trophy in the Place where he had routed the Enemy, and deliver'd their Dead upon Truce.

Epaminondas conſidering that the *Arcadians* were coming to the relief of *Lacedemon*, would not fight them and the *Lacedemonians* together; eſpecially theſe having been lately ſucceſsful, and his own Men foiled. Wherefore marching back again with all ſpeed to *Tegea*, and refreſhing his Heavy-arm'd men, he ſent his Horſe to *Mantinea*, deſiring them to hold out bravely; telling them that probably all the *Mantineans* and their Cattel were without the Walls, it being the time that they houſed their Corn; accordingly they went: In the mean while the *Athenian* Horſe marching from *Eleuſis*, Supped at the *Iſthmus*, and paſſing by *Cleone*, arrived

arrived at *Mantinea*, and took up their Quarters in the City. The *Mantineans* being certified that the Enemies *Cavalry* were coming thither, desired the *Athenian* Horse to assist them if 'twere possible: for all their Cattel were abroad, as also their Workmen; a great many Children, and old Men that were free. The *Athenians* hearing this, went out to their Assistance, before either they or their Horses had eaten.

Here who can enough admire the Valour of these Horse, who though they saw the Enemy were far stronger, and tho they themselves had had a Disaster at *Corinth*, they yet never call'd it to mind, or that they were to fight with the *Theban* and *Thessalian* Horse, which were counted the best in the World: But ashamed to come thither without doing the Confederates any Service; as soon as ever they came in view of the Enemy, desirous to maintain the Glory of their Ancestors, they engaged them, and by this Encounter saved all that the *Mantineans* had abroad; yet they lost some brave men, and slew also some such of the Enemy: For there was none on either side that had so short a Weapon, but that he could reach his Enemy therewith: At last they carried

off their Friends that were ſlain, and reſtored the Enemy theirs upon Truce.

Here *Epaminondas* conſidering, that within a few days he ſhould be obliged to depart, becauſe the time ſet for the Expedition was elapſed; and that if he ſhould leave them expoſed, whom he came to aſſiſt, then they would be beſieged by the Enemy, and himſelf ſhould loſe all his former Glory: (becauſe he, and a ſtrong body of Heavy-arm'd men had been beaten at *Lacedemon* by a few, foiled at *Mantinea* in a ſkirmiſh with the Horſe; and that his Voyage into *Peloponneſus* had given occaſion to the *Lacedemonians*, *Arcadians*, *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*, to enter into a Confederacy) thought it was not poſſible for him to retreat without fighting; conſidering too, that if he conquer'd he ſhould remove all theſe Difficulties, and that if he were killed, it would be thought a Noble Death, by having attempted to leave his Country, the Soveraignty of *Peloponneſus*. Nor is it any great wonder to me that he ſhould entertain theſe Deſigns, for theſe are the thoughts of men that are Lovers of Glory: But this is a greater wonder, that he ſo inur'd his Souldiers to refuſe no kind of Toyl either

either by Day or Night, to decline no Danger, and to obey his Commands though they wanted Proviſions. For at laſt, when he gave out orders to his Army to prepare themſelves for Battel, the Horſe readily at his Command whitened their Head-pieces, and ſome of the *Arcadian* Heavy-arm'd men form'd themſelves into Companies, and carried Clubs after the manner of the *Thebans*: Laſtly, all whetted their Spears and Swords, and ſcoured their Bucklers. It is worth while to obſerve what he did after he had got them in this good Order.

The Battel at *Mantinea*.

At firſt, as is uſual, he drew up in *Battalia*, and then ſignified that Preparations ſhould be made for a Battel: after he had drawn up as he beſt liked, he did not take the ſhorteſt Cut to the Enemy, but led to the Hills that lay on the Weſt of *Tegea*, and oppoſite to the place where he was: So that he made the Enemy believe he would not fight that Day. But after he came to the Mountains, and had extended his Army in Front, he made a halt under the Hills, as though he was about to Encamp; and by this abated the prepared Fury of the Enemy to fight, and made them negligent of the order of Battel they had drawn up

in: But bringing the Companies that
ἐπὶ κέρως. were placed in File to the Front, and making a ſtrong Wedge about himſelf, he commanded them to take up their Arms again and led them on. When the Enemy ſaw them advance contrary to their expectation, no one ſtood ſtill, but ſome ran to their Ranks, others prepared themſelves in *Battalia*; ſome bridled their Horſes, and put on their Armour, and ſeemed rather to be made a Carriage of, than to make one. On the other hand, *Epaminondas* led on his Army, being like the oppoſite Stem of a Galley, concluding that where-ever he made an Impreſſion, there he ſhould ruine their whole Body: For he had prepared to charge with the Flower of his Forces, leaving the Weaker part a good way off; conſidering that if this were beaten, it would put the reſt into a Conſternation, and add Reſolution to the Enemies.

The Enemy had drawn up their Horſe in depth like a *Battalion* of Heavy-arm'd men, not having flank'd them with Foot. on the contrary, *Epaminondas* made a firm Wedge of his Horſe, and placed Foot by them, thinking that after he had broke through the Enemies Horſe, he ſhould

ſhould beat all the reſt of their Army: For 'tis very hard to find any that will abide by't, when they ſee their Fellow-Souldiers run. Now that the *Athenians*, on the left might not relieve thoſe next them, he poſted ſome Horſe and Heavy-arm'd men on the oppoſite Hills, putting them in fear, that if they went to the relief of their men, theſe would fall on their Rear: Nor did he fail of his Deſign; for fighting in this order, he beat that Part he charged, and put the whole Army to flight: But after he fell himſelf, the others knew not how to uſe the Victory; for when the *Battalion* that charged them fled, the Heavy-arm'd men killed no body, nor advanced from the place where the Fight began. In like manner when the Enemies Horſe fled, the *Thebans* did not purſue them, nor their Heavy-arm'd men, but as if they had been beaten, got diſorderly away through the flying Enemy: The Foot and the Targetiers by agreement moved together with the Horſe to the left, as if they had been Victorious, where moſt of them were cut in pieces by the *Athenians*.

This Action hapned contrary to the expectation of all men; for moſt part of *Greece* being got together, and drawn

up in *Battalia*, every one believed that if there were a Fight, the Victors would rule, and the Vanquiſht obey: But Providence ſo ordered it, that both ſides as Victors ſet up Trophies, and neither ſide hindred the other from erecting them: both as Conquerors delivered the Slain upon Truce, and both as Conquered received them upon Truce. And though both pretended to the Victory, yet neither the one nor the other enlarg'd their Territories, or encreaſed their Power; but after the Fight there aroſe greater Confuſion and Troubles in *Greece*, than ever were at any time before.

Thus far have I deduc'd my Hiſtory, and perhaps that which follows may be done by ſome other hand.

An Advertiſement.

THE Chronology of this Hiſtory being obſcure, it will be neceſſary to offer ſomething towards the clearing of it. Our Author continues the Hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* War, which *Thucydides* began, and brought down as far as the end of Summer, in the Twenty firſt Year of the War, to the Second Battel at *Mantinea*, containing the Space of Forty eight Years. *Didorus Siculus* affirms in his XIII. Book, that *Xenophon* was the Continuator of *Thucydides*; but miſtakes in aſſerting that *Thucydides* wrote to the Twenty ſecond Year of the War; becauſe the latter in the cloſe of his VIII. Book, ſays, That the Twenty firſt Year would not be Compleated, till the Winter that ſucceeded the Summer, where he breaks off his Hiſtory, was elapſed.

Some learned men allow *Xenophon* to be the Continuator of *Thucydides*, but yet they would have the Hiſtory of

ſome Years wanting; concluding it both from the abrupt beginning, which has no Introduction as the reſt of his Works, and from the Account by *Olympiades* and *Archons*. 'Tis very probable the firſt may be ſo far true, that ſomething may be defective, though not whole Years; but the Argument they fetch from the *Olympiades* and *Archons* to prove it, is inſufficient, becauſe that Account was not ſo early in uſe as theſe Authors, as has been formerly obſerv'd by a learned Gentleman; and therefore I have ſet them in the *Margin* as being a Gloſs, and inſerted into the *Text*. Moreover the conſtant Notation of Time throughout *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*, is by Summer and Winter, and 'tis by accident that either of them make any mention of *Olympick* Years, and when they do, 'tis not in relation to the *Annals of the Hiſtory*, but to ſome dependance the Hiſtory has on them.

But further to prove that *Xenophon* was the Continuator of *Thucydides*: I ſhall alledge a Law of the *Lacedemonians*, that barred the ſame perſon from being twice Admiral, which is mentioned both in the ſecond Book of this *Hiſtory*, and by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Lyſander*, on this

this occaſion. The *Lacedemonians* being vanquiſht by the *Athenians* in the Sea Fight at *Arginuſæ*, their Affairs were reduced to a very ill Condition: yet the Confederates reſolving to repair their former Loſſes, Requeſted the *Lacedemonians* to ſend them *Lyſander* to Command their Fleet; having the experience of his Conduct in the Fight at *Notium*; wherein he overthrew the *Athenians*; The *Lacedemonians* anſwered them, that by their Law none might be twice Admiral; thereupon they gave *Aracus* the Command of the Fleet, chooſing *Lyſander* to go in Quality of his Vice-Admiral. Moreover the Admirals continued but a year in their Office: For we find in the firſt Book of this Hiſtory, that as ſoon as *Lyſander*'s year was elaps'd, the *Lacedemonians* ſent *Callicratidas* to ſucceed him.

Furthermore *Thucydides* in his Iſt Book witneſſes, that *Mindarus* ſucceeded *Aſtyochus* in the Command of the Fleet, and *Xenophon* in the firſt Book of his Hiſtory, implies that he was Admiral; becauſe he mentions *Hegeſandridas* as his Vice-Admiral.

Therefore, ſince none could be twice Admiral by the *Lacedemonian* Law, and none

none could bear that Office longer than a year: And being *Thucydides* in the end of the eighth Book, and *Xenophon* in the beginning of this History, affirm, that *Mindarus* was Admiral; it follows that the one ends, and the other begins in the same year.

In the next place it is to be considered, that there are two Opinions concerning the duration of the War. *Thucydides* in his Fifth Book, says, That it lasted Twenty seven years, and ended when the Walls of the *Pireus* were demolished; but *Xenophon* says, Twenty eight and an half, acounting till the time that *Lysander* return'd home in Triumph: Yet there was but half a year betwixt the Demolishing of the Walls, and *Lysander*'s Triumph; so that there is the difference of a year between both Accounts.

To this I answer, that as there are two ends of this War, so there are as many beginnings: For *Thucydides* accounts from the time of Action, and *Xenophon* from the Declaration of the War, which was when the Ambassadors of the Allies assembled at *Lacedemon*, to Confederate against the *Athenians*: and the like Supputation *Thucydides* makes in his Second Book; where he says, That *Pericles* died

two

two years and an half after the War began; which muſt be underſtood in *Xenophon*'s ſenſe and not in his own.

Having thus proved that *Xenophon* is the Continuator of *Thucydides*, and that there is no defect of any year; I proceed to ſet out the Six years and an half of the *Peloponneſian* War, that this Author writes of: the end of the Twenty firſt year, and beginning of the Twenty ſecond are not diſtinguiſhed: Whereupon I have followed *Diodorus Siculus* herein, and placed the Death of *Mindarus* in the end of the Twenty firſt year, and began the Twenty ſecond with the Baniſhment of the *Syracuſian* Captains; the other five years are expreſly diſtinguiſhed.

The reſt of the *Chronology* is very obſcure, which amongſt other things makes me think that *Xenophon* did not finiſh this Piece, becauſe the Notation of Time is frequently omitted, and in many places the Sequel of an Action not continued, but interrupted with ſome new relation. I have in order to the clearing of it, made four *Periods*; the firſt to the Fight at *Cnidus*, the ſecond to the *Antalcidean* Peace, the third to the Battel at *Leuctra*, and the fourth to that at *Mantinea*.

Mantinea. And becauſe the Marks of Time are wanting in *Xenophon*, I have fitted them to the *Annals* of *Diodorus Siculus*, and where the years are not diſtinguiſhed, I have ſupplied them out of the latter.

There is but one Notation of Time in the latter part of the Hiſtory, which occurs in the Fifth Book, concerning the *Mantinean* War, that broke out at the Expiration of the Thirty years Truce made after the firſt Battel at *Mantinea*, which was fought in the Fourteenth year of the *Peloponneſian* War, and the third of the Ninety third *Olympiad*; ſo that accounting from that time to the third of the Ninety eighth *Olympiad*, when this War began, there are Two and thirty Years; and reck'ning excluſively, that is, neither the year when the Truce was made, nor the Year when the War began, and there will remain Thirty, the Number ſought.

Addenda.

I thought it convenient to add theſe various *Lections* out of *Palmerius*, which came into my hands ſince this Tranſlation was in the Preſs.

Page

Page 84. *lin.*9. lege *Artaxerxes*. *Page* 124. *lin.* 4. pro τῶν ἔξω νέων lege Αἰξωνέων. For theſe *Exoneans* were a Tribe in *Attica*, and had no concern with the *Exiles* in the *Piræus*; ſo that *Lyſimachus* did very unjuſtly in killing them: whereas if they had belong'd to the *Exiles*, they had been Enemies, and ſo no injuſtice in him to have ſlain them.

Page 152 *lin.*22 Lege ὡς προελθὼν τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίων. For *Dercyllidas* entred the Country about *Epheſus* with his own Troops in no good order, becauſe he arrived there before the Enemy, and knowing nothing of their March, was not upon his guard.

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